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15 November 1983

# Near East/South Asia Report

No. 2851

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## ALGERIA

### ONM COUNCIL APPROVES ECONOMIC RECOVERY ACHIEVEMENTS

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 13 Oct 83 p 2

[Text] The fifth session of the National Veterans Organization (ONM) released the text of its final resolution on general policy. This is what it says.

We, members of the National War Veterans Organization, assembled at the Palais des Nations on 9 and 10 October 1983 in our fifth regular meeting, after hearing the orientation remarks from Brother Mohamed Chérif Messaâdia, member of the Political Bureau, and permanent member of the FLN Party secretariat, and the report of the Secretary-General of the ONM, as well as remarks from brother members of the Central Committee, from the Veterans' Affairs Minister, and from the head of the agency in charge of Party mass organizations and volunteers, as well as reports from brothers serving as secretaries at the wilaya level, all having to do with Organization activities over the interval between this meeting and the last.

After frank and objective discussion of the issues on the agenda for this session, "We wish to express our appreciation of the sound Party spirit that has been the hallmark of the labors of the ONM National Council during its fifth session, summoned just prior to the FLN Party's 5th Congress, which makes it particularly significant."

#### Climate Marked by Clarity and Objectivity

The National Veterans Organization takes pride in recording the excellent results achieved, thanks to the procedure followed in preparation for the 5th Congress. That procedure has made it possible for our rank-and-file membership and for all dynamic forces in the country to make a practical and positive contribution to improving and enriching the reports which will be submitted to the Congress, pursuant to the principles embodied in the national Charter; we owe all this to the national committee in charge of preparations for the Congress, whose members performed their task in such a way as to guarantee that it would assemble in a climate of clarity and objectivity.

On the basis of these findings, the Moudjahidine feel that the work of the imminent Congress should lead to results responsive to our people's aspirations and worthy of the grandeur of our revolution.

The National Veterans' Council voices its satisfaction as to the role played by the various agencies for execution and implementation of action programs adopted by the several sessions of the National Council, in compliance with the recommendations of the 6th Moudjahidine Congress.

In this context, the Council expresses its particular interest in the intensive efforts under way to rewrite the history of the Revolution and the serious preparation for the 2d national seminar on rewriting history, which were preceded by a great many meetings at the regional and Wilaya levels.

The Council also attaches special importance to the "reconnaissance and readjustment" operation which is an integral part of the history of the Revolution. It further expresses its unwavering support for operations designed to purge the history of Algeria of distortions and errors.

The Council declares its satisfaction over the ONM's contribution, through the various commissions and at all levels, to the operation of preparing for the imminent assembly of the 5th Congress.

#### Progress in Social Relations

The National Veterans' Council hails the efforts untiringly put forth by the state to improve the lives of veterans, and to help them advance vocationally and socially.

The National Veterans' Council pays homage to the wise and far-sighted policies pursued by the Political Directorate in settling a number of the many problems -- social, political, and economic -- which face our country.

For example, in the economic domain, the country has, since the Party's 4th Congress and its extraordinary congresses, achieved measurable progress in the areas of planning, implementation, and followup in view of overall balanced development, as well as giving meaning to the motto adopted by the Party's extraordinary Congress: "Toward a Better Life."

All that has been accomplished thus far is the work of sincere and dedicated citizens, headed by the Moudjahidin who work with selfless dedication to build revolutionary Algeria and insure the well-being of future generations.

The Moudjahidin are delighted at the soundness of Algeria's economic policy, and the firmness that has fore-armed our country against the vicissitudes of economic crisis now afflicting every nation.

Our country has made progress -- quantitative and qualitative -- in social matters, to which the political leadership attaches particular importance in that it is among the top priorities in the latest development plan.

Healing the nation's economy, restructuring business and industry and production units, fighting waste in all its guises including negligence and absenteeism, rational utilization of the nation's human and material resources, eliminating parasites and opportunists, and regular evaluations of the progress of our revolutionary advancement so as to deal with any shortcomings are all ways of strengthening our Revolution, which we all want to see deepened and consolidated. We must move toward that end, according to the rule of negative and positive operation so as to enhance the sense of responsibility and of discipline in matters of management and application. This is why the key posts in the Party and in the State must go to carefully selected men who must meet standards of competence and integrity, according to the rule of the right man in the right place.

The National Council of Moudjahidine hails and adopts the content of the speech delivered by brother moudjahid Chadli Bendjedid, President of the Republic and secretary general of the Party, at the national council of the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA), a speech which provided strategic dimensions to the national development policy and to our foreign policy, putting the emphasis on work and on the importance of domestic production to the preservation of our independence and sovereignty and in achieving prosperity in our society.

#### Agriculture Is Pivotal to the National Economy

The National War Veterans' Council (CNM) shares the concern which the political leadership attributes to agriculture, which is pivotal to the national economy and to the Revolution. The CNM accordingly salutes the efforts the political leadership has made in this area in developing the sector as well as adapting its working procedures so as to insure self-sufficiency and security, which is otherwise a weak point for putting pressure on peoples and a constant threat to their independence.

The CNM reasserts the need for viewing this as a priority sector demanding special attention and close on-site monitoring.

The CNM voices its satisfaction at the strides already made in the vital sector of culture by adoption of the cultural policy and the institution of a Ministry of Culture, and the glorification of our historical epic, by such means as establishment of the Mekem-Ech-Chahid, the Moudjahid museum, and other acultural milestones already in place or on their way there, as homage to the heroism and readiness of the Algerian people and in order to make them known and to transmit them to future generations so as to imbue them with the grandeur of the Revolution.

The CNM notes with pleasure the achievements made in the area of education and instruction which constitutes the driving force of any renaissance and every evolution, and it welcomes the efforts made in the direction of implementing the principle of making education more democratic.

The CNM voices its complete satisfaction with the decisions of the leadership in the area of training, which constitutes the keystone of balanced overall development, in that proper training of the individual of necessity insures improvement in production and productivity as well as mastery of technology.

In view of the fact that the nation's identity is rooted primarily in the spread of utilization of the national language, as stipulated in the National Charter, the Constitution, and the resolutions of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front Party, the CNM is persuaded of the need to forge the Algerian identity in the framework of Arab-Islamic values and to protect it from the cultural alienation with which it is threatened by the foreign cultural invasion.

The CNM declares its satisfaction with the efforts put forth in the direction of using the national tongue in all sectors, but finds that there are still some sectors in which foreign language continues to be spoken. The CNM urges implementation of the political leadership's resolutions on this matter, in response to the aspirations of the masses of the people.

In view of the encouraging results of the decentralization policy thanks to the constant support of the political leadership in broadening the prerogatives of local communities in the areas of planning, application, and decision-making, the CNM declares its satisfaction with the political leadership decisions designed to bring the citizen closer to the administration so as to enable him to participate more fully in the national development effort, on the one hand, and, on the other, to take fuller advantage of the fruits of that development.

The CNM supports the positions based upon enduring political principles in the area of foreign policy, which reflect Algeria's sincere acceptance of the freedom to establish equitable international relations and enter into fruitful and honest cooperation. In this context, the CNM voices its satisfaction with the efforts put forth by the political leadership in the direction of building a Greater Arab Maghreb based on the principle of brotherhood, concord, and stronger, more fruitful relations among the peoples of the region in various domains.

The CNM voices its hope of seeing this cooperation extend to meet the aspirations of the peoples of the Maghreb, aspirations toward freedom, toward independence, and toward self-determination.

## Strengthening Arab Unity

The CNM expresses its deep concern at developments in the situation on the Arab scene, and the dangers which threaten the Palestinian Revolution.

It calls upon the Palestinian brethren to rise above their petty differences which serve, not the essential cause of the Palestinian people, but that of the enemies of the Arab Nation.

The Council asks Palestinians to close ranks and mobilize around the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The Council sends an urgent appeal to all the Arab brother countries to cease meddling in the internal affairs of the Palestinian Revolution, which stands in need of guidance from none.

The Council exhorts the Arab states to forget their differences and adopt a common position to fight the enemy and defend Arab causes, including that of the Palestinian people, struggling to win back their right to build an independent state on Palestinian soil.

The Council voices its relief at conclusion of the cease-fire agreement in Lebanon, a first step toward national reconciliation, a reconciliation based on Lebanon's Arabness, its territorial integrity, and its sovereignty.

The Council deplores the murderous Iran-Iraq war and calls upon both parties to the conflict to stop the bloodshed and to devote the material and human resources squandered in it to the struggle against imperialist and Zionist designs on the region.

The Council hails the laudable efforts undertaken by the political leadership in helping these peoples to settle their differences peaceably.

It praises the untiring efforts of the political leadership on the African scene, so as to consolidate the bonds of free and equitable cooperation among African countries as part of the Good Neighbor policy and to strengthen the OAU, the ideal forum for settling the continent's problems.

The Council warns against all the attempts to internationalize the conflict in Chad, which is a domestic problem of concern solely to the Chadian people and requires simply that a just settlement be reached for it within the framework of the OAU.

Support for the Just Struggles of Peoples for National Liberation

The CNM also forcefully denounced repeated aggression by the racist South African regime against the Front-Line countries.

It supports the Sahraoui people under the standard of the Polisario Front, its sole genuine representative, for its freedom, its independence, and its self-determination, in compliance with the OAU and UN resolutions.

The Council supports the struggle of Namibia's people under the aegis of SWAPO, and that of the people of Southern Africa under the standard of the ANC for their independence.

The CNM voices its solidarity with all national liberation movements in the world and lends its support to the uprising of the Chilean people against the fascist Pinochet regime and for a return to democracy.

The Council joins in spirit with the Salvadoran people in their struggle to overthrow the reactionary regime now in power.

It emphatically denounces the conspiracies spun by imperialism and fascist regimes against the Nicaraguan Revolution.

The Council is highly appreciative of the role played by the Non-Aligned Nations movement to establish a new and just international economic order, to democratize international relations, to bring security and stability to the world, to limit the arms race and the deployment of nuclear weapons in different regions of the globe, to divert the obscenely large sums squandered on such things to uses that would benefit all mankind, and the use of scientific and technical knowledge to economic and developmental ends.

Considering the crisis now brewing in international relations, resulting as it does from the lopsided balance of power, from lack of respect for the United Nations Charter, from the arms race, and from the prevalence of the force and aggression mindset, the CNM urgently calls upon all the war veterans in the world to fight for disarmament and for peaceable settlement of international problems, and to support the peoples fighting for their right to independence and to think and act for themselves, thus serving the twin causes of world peace and international security.

Lastly, the Council reaffirms the mobilization of all Moudjahidine to defend the achievements of the Socialist Revolution, their commitment to make the 5th FLN Party Congress, upon which they pin such high hopes, a success, and their determination to thwart all attempts to sow doubts in people's minds in order to diminish our Revolution and hamper its progress.

Glory to our valiant martyrs!

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NEW JUDICIAL APPOINTEES INTERVIEWED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 18 Aug 83 p 7

[Interview with Dr Fathi 'Abd-al-Sabur and Dr Rif'at Khafaji, Supreme Court Judge and Administrative Prosecutor, respectively, by 'Isam Hashish: "AL-AKHBAR's first interview with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and with the Administrative Prosecutor: Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Says, 'Egypt Has the Best System of Judicial Control over Laws; the Egyptian Constitution Is Progressive and Every Egyptian Should Be Proud of It;' Administrative Prosecutor Says, 'Punishment for a Negligent Civil Servant Is Severe' "]

[Text] New people are heading judicial agencies for the first time. Dr Fathi 'Abd-al-Sabur was appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court, and Dr Rif'at Khafaji was appointed administrative prosecutor. There are problems and tasks awaiting the new chief in each one of these judicial organizations. Each new chief has his own personality which comes to the fore through his work and his accomplishments. When AL-AKHBAR interviewed the new chief justice of the Supreme Court and the new administrative prosecutor the following conversation took place.

I met Justsice, Dr Fathi 'Abd-al-Sabur, whose service on the Supreme Court has been the longest of all Supreme Court justices. Judge 'Abd-al-Sabur worked all his life in the courts and in the prosecutor's office. He took part in [the processes of] developing laws and amending the constitution, and he is one of the leading supporters of the constitution.

Justice 'Abd-al-Sabur's charge in his new position is to become one of the foremost defenders of the constitution. He is thus the right person in the right place. Dr 'Abd-al-Sabur gives the late president Anwar al-Sadat credit for promulgating that constitution. In fact, he regards the promulgation of that constitution to be absolutely al-Sadat's greatest achievement. His second greatest achievement after that was the October War decision. Dr 'Abd-al-Sabur did take part in drafting this constitution in 1970. At that time he was serving as director of the Legislative Department in the Ministry of Justice. On the basis of his experience and his expertise Dr 'Abd-al-Sabur says that Egypt must be proud of its constitution because it is a progressive constitution whose greatness is no less than that of the greatest constitutions of the oldest democracies. In some areas, in fact, Egypt's constitution is ahead of the constitutions of other countries.



## The Important Question

[Question] I would like to find out what you think about an important question that is looming on the horizon; I'd like to find out what you think about guarantees against violating the constitution. One of the most notable proposals you made was that concerning bills that are being considered by the People's Assembly. You proposed that these bills be examined and reviewed by the Supreme Court first before they are passed. The Supreme Court would then make sure that these laws complied with the constitution.

The motivation behind making that proposal lies in the fact that the constitutionality of some of the bills that are passed by the People's Assembly is questioned by interested parties. An appeal is filed with the Supreme court, and the court takes a long time to consider the appeal before issuing its decision that the law was unconstitutional. At the same time the law that is being appealed was being applied, causing disorder and anxiety in public order.

## The Position of Exercising Control over the Laws

[Answer] There are two methods of exercising constitutional control. The first method is that in which control is exercised before the law is enacted, as in the French system. France does not have a supreme court. It does have, however, a constitutional council that reviews bills against the constitution before they are enacted. That council, however, does not exercise judicial control, but it does exercise political control over the laws. Therefore, this council is made up of politicians as well as members of the judiciary.

The other method is that which Egypt adapted from the Italian system. It is that in which control is exercised subsequently. This means that controlling and considering the constitutionality of a law would come after a law is promulgated, when an appeal is filed in a particular case claiming that the law is unconstitutional. This is judicial control. Therefore, the Supreme Court is a judicial organization which is, of course, independent of the remaining authorities of the state and impartial to them.

## Our System Is Better

[Question] Which one of the two systems achieves stability and is effective? Exercising control over the laws at the source before they are enacted by the People's Assembly or exercising this control after these laws are enacted and carried out among the people?

[Answer] Our system is better. When the court rules that a law is unconstitutional, that court ruling is binding. It is issued by an independent judicial organization whose rulings are guaranteed to be impartial and objective. It is difficult to find these guarantees in a system in which political control is exercised before the laws are enacted.

[Question] Can't the Supreme Court maintain its independence and its impartiality and at the same time stay away from politics and play a role in exercising control over the laws before they are enacted by the People's Assembly?

[Answer] I believe that in some cases a supreme court may be authorized to state

an opinion on bills before these bills become law. But this matter is still under consideration and study.

#### The Secret behind the Delay of Lawsuits

Our interview with the chief justice of the Supreme Court turned to the reasons that delay the quick settlement of constitutional cases, even though this delay may hamper the restitution of rights to those who are entitled to them and may prolong erroneous and unconstitutional conditions that entail problems.

[Answer] The nature of work in a supreme court makes it necessary and requires that one be deliberate, precise and certain of the accuracy of each position because a ruling that is issued by the court is binding on everyone. Therefore, it is natural that preparations for a case in a supreme court would take up a long period of time.

After a case is filed in court, there is a period of preparation. This takes place in sessions held in front of a board of commissioners and attended by the litigants. Briefs are presented during those sessions. The case is then retained by the counsel for the board of commissioners for the preparation of a report containing the final opinion. After the period of preparation the case goes to the court chamber, and court dates are set for hearing the case. The court may hear litigants' arguments once again if there is justification for that. In my opinion, providing an opportunity for research and inquiry is considered a necessity that may take some time. However, the court is quite concerned about the prompt completion of the cases on its docket, as soon as possible after deliberations on these cases are completed.

#### The Most Serious Cases

[Dr Fathi 'Abd-al-Sabur was asked] about the growing number of cases that are pending in front of the court to appeal the constitutionality of a number of laws.

Dr Fathi 'Abd-al-Sabur's opinion on that question was specific. He thinks that the reason for the recent noticeable increase in the number of court cases lies in the fact that a large number of laws are enacted by the legislative authority.

[Question] What are the most important and the most notable cases that are being considered by the Supreme Court at the present time?

[Answer] The Personal Status Law is one of the most important cases being considered now. An appeal has been filed against Article Six of that law which deals with a married man marrying another woman and the right of the [first] wife to ask for divorce in this case because of damage.

The second case pertains to interest on late payments. It has to do with Article 226 of the Civil Code. This is what has been called usurious interest.

The third case involves the nationalization of property and compensations [that are claimed] as a result of the nationalization of some private property for the welfare of the public.

The fourth case has to do with applying the provisions of the canonical law of Islam with regard to punishment for major crimes, requital and payment of blood money. At the present time these are the most prominent kinds of cases in front of the court. Scores of lawsuits have been filed for each kind of case filed [in the Supreme Court], but, naturally, only one ruling in each variety of lawsuits is enough to be applied to the remaining lawsuits.

#### Administrative Prosecution

The second chief of a judicial authority to be interviewed by AL-AKHBAR was the judge, Dr Rif'at Khafaji, former chief of the Ethics Court and former vice president of the Court of Cassation.

Judge Khafaji's last day on the Ethics Court was last Sunday, 14 August. The last session of the court over which he presided was held that day. At that session he considered 52 cases of compensation for administrative sequestration which was imposed on a number of wealthy Egyptian families early in the sixties. These families are asking today for the return of their property, now that the constitution and the law are giving them that opportunity.

#### Fervent Enthusiasm

Dr Khafaji has been associated with [the kind of] thought, style and spirit of action that is unmatched. When I went to his new office in the Administrative Prosecution, I found a fervent enthusiasm for work. From the very first moment he held meetings, gave out assignments and requested statements. It's as though he had decided that the Administrative Prosecution was to turn into another Ethics Court that would look for corrupt people, call them to account, punish them and purge them out of society.

It was natural for him to say, "I will continue raising the banner of purity. I will continue to fight immorality and corruption with vigor and determination within the boundaries of the law. No matter where I am, I will continue to be loyal to the soil of Egypt until the last day of my life."

#### The Function of the Prosecution

[Question] What do you think about the function of the administrative prosecutor?

He replied, stressing his words to make them convey the meaning he wanted them to convey, "The Administrative Prosecution is the principal agency in the state that is responsible for reforming the administrative machinery in Egypt and resisting immorality and corruption in the state machinery. It is the agency that is charged with the task of bringing about total discipline and proper operations in the state's public facilities."

#### Ideas in Advance

[Question] Do you have any ideas in advance on streamlining operations in the Administrative Prosecution?

[Answer] Every citizen ought to obtain his rights fully and peacefully. This is

basically what I think. It is the function of all state agencies to help citizens do that as long as they are in the right. Any civil servant must know that the deterrent power of the law will come into play if he is remiss about granting any citizen his rights or fulfilling his needs. I am confident that if morale is restored to every citizen, everything will fall into place because there are no justifications for indifference. At the same time a civil servant who is negligent or who is remiss in his duties will be severely punished. This is because the prosecution can question him and can issue a decision for his immediate suspension from work. The prosecution can also turn such a civil servant over to a disciplinary court.

#### Low Morale

[Question] There is a curious phenomenon occurring today in our society. Despite the fact that supervisory organizations--such as the socialist prosecutor, the public prosecution, the administrative prosecution, [the office of] Ill-Gotten Gains, administrative supervision, [the Bureau of] Investigations and others--have everything that is needed for effective supervision, there are numerous and major forms of corruption that are not disposed of until after they've grown. This confirms the fact that these organizations have not been able to nip these phenomena in the bud. What is the reason for that?

Without hesitation the administrative prosecutor said, "Morale is the reason. If each one of us felt good about doing what he had to do, a phenomenon such as that you are talking about would cease to exist. The laws are there, and they cover everything. The resources are there, and there are enough organizations. The only thing we lack is a forceful and determined application of these laws to demonstrate a sense of loyalty to Egyptian soil. It is morale that separates one person from another. Every person can work, but it is how that person performs and how he feels about what he does that matter when it comes to resisting corruption and realizing discipline."

#### The Real Achievement

[Question] What are your foremost current concerns as administrative prosecutor?

[Answer] My foremost concern is to accomplish something real. What is required [in this position] is the prompt investigation of all cases in the prosecutor's office. What is required is quick action on these cases as well as decisions. What is required is follow-up action on disciplinary suits in court. As I told you the only things I think about are getting the job done; being effective; training the staff of the administrative prosecution to act and make decisions quickly; making decisions establishing training courses for the staff; and informing the staff about new laws and about all the new provisions in those laws so that we can later give them credit also for their accomplishments with us.

8592

CSO: 4504/578

## EXPLOITATION OF QATTARA DEPRESSION UNDER STUDY

East Burnham ARABIA THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 26, Oct 83 p 58

[Text]

The Swedish consultancy firm, Sweco, is involved in a huge water supply project in Qara, Egypt. Qara is one of the loneliest places on earth: a village of 148 people sustained by a few olive and palm trees in a small oasis close to the frontier between Egypt and Libya. It has neither mosque nor school and can be reached only by a barely discernible track which runs across rock-hard sand 80 miles from the larger oasis at Siwa and which for half that distance crosses a dead and featureless plateau.

Qara has no electricity. However, if a report which Sweco presented to the government in September is accepted, water will by the end of the century appear for the first time since pre-history in the nearby desert, roaring through vast conduits from the Mediterranean to turn the turbines of a \$3bn hydroelectric plant with more than three-quarters the generating capacity of the Aswan High Dam.

Sweco's report is the latest manifestation of an old dream to exploit the Qattara Depression, a vast, uninhabitable area of Egypt south of the Mediterranean coast that sinks at its lowest to about 130 metres below sea level. As early as 1927, John Bell, director of the Geological Survey, produced a report which still elicits the admiration of engineers and surveyors, showing that if a canal were cut to the sea, the head of water could generate sufficient electricity to meet Egypt's needs for centuries. At the time, only 25 years after the building of the first dam at Aswan, the country's demand for power was slight and Bell's ideas hopelessly uneconomic, but as the original Aswan barrage silted up, as the population boomed and the nation began to industrialise in the years following the 1952 revolution, electricity consumption surged.

The new report shows that the Depression could generate 1,600 Megawatts for the first 12 years of operation, compared with 2,000 Mw from the new High Dam, inaugurated in 1971, and something less than that for a further 50 years. After this the Depression

would fill with sea water to a depth of 50 metres below sea level and be no longer usable.

The sheer scale of the project is a challenge to the imagination. It would involve flooding an area the size of Northern Ireland, roughly one third of the Depression (more extensive flooding could upset the water tables in Siwa and Qara to the west, and in Wadi Natroun and Fayoum to the east); it would necessitate building a 45-kilometre headrace canal from Al-Alamein, a nine-kilometre tunnel under the Libyan plateau and a second, 30-kilometre tailrace canal into the Depression itself.

So vast is the undertaking that engineers have suggested using nuclear charges, something which disturbs the people of Qara. Technology in Qara is limited to a shiny, battered can, labelled "Soya Salad Oil, a gift of the US government. Not for resale" which is used to haul water from the deep well inside the village.

If they have ever heard of Sweco, the people of Qara will be reassured to know that nuclear explosions are "out of vogue" as an engineer put it. They were, he said, a popular idea in the 1960s when the Germans were interested in the Qattara Depression and produced a report which occupies five feet of bookshelves, and when the Russians were musing on the prospect of diverting the Siberian rivers which run into the White Sea. But technology has not kept pace with enthusiasm and there is still no "clean" device which could be used to "nuke" the canal. The Egyptian Explosives Company, operating under licence from Nobel of Sweden, has carried out a \$1.5m feasibility study into cutting the canal by conventional detonations.

So far, however, Sweco has dug all of its ten excavation wells, some of them to a depth of 100 metres, by hand. Their studies show that if the hydroelectric plant were used for peak-power purposes, it would take between 12 and 15 years to fill the Depression to the required depth; thereafter

a slower rate of generation could be maintained, keeping pace with the evaporation from the new, inland sea. After some 50 years, however, the sea would become so saturated with salt that evaporation would slow to a negligible rate and the power plant would be abandoned.

So great is Egypt's demand for electricity that the government will now examine a report which proposes to create an utterly useless sea. The water in the eastern Mediterranean is too pure, that is too clear of nutritious elements, to sustain much fish and Sweco concedes that the inland sea would have no value after it had generated electric power for the equivalent of a human lifespan. There is, they add, no agricultural potential whatever in the Depression, a region so barren that nothing lives there but scorpions and so dangerous in parts that even camels cannot walk unladen.

Evaporation will of course create clouds of fresh water which might turn into rain and irrigate the coastal plain, where sparse plantations now exist in areas which only 30 years ago witnessed the great tank battles of the second world war. The war has left scars around the Depression too. Sweco recently lost a jeep when it ran over a landmine, though the Bedouin driver and Swedish passenger fortunately survived.

A report is one thing, however, and its implementation another. Sweco, which made its reputation in Egypt with the moving of the Abu Simbel temples before the flooding of Lake Nasser behind the Aswan High Dam, says that an international effort will be required to realise the Qattara project, just as Unesco's help was indispensable at Abu Simbel. The people of Qara seem unlikely to reap the dubious benefits of modern high technology for some years to come.

CSO: 4500/12

SHUKRI'S PROGRAM, PROBLEMS IN GOVERNORATES TOUR, NDP's REBUTTAL

Shukri Calls for Change

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 2 Aug 83 p 4

[Article: "In Daysat: I Will Not Ask President Mubarak for Change, But I Ask the People for It"]

[Text] On the soil of the village of Daysat, Talkha District, al-Daqahliyah Governorate, Eng Ibrahim Shukri, leader of the Socialist Labor Party [SLP], announced that it was high time that the government was by the people for the people. If this is achieved, complaints will disappear.

"The people will never trust their affairs to those who hurt them and are insensitive to them. The investigations by the Socialist Prosecutor and the sentences handed down by the Ethics Court and the ensuing ouster of some ministers in the wake of the indictments provide an absolute proof that those rulers were involved in wrongdoing to an extent unprecedented in Egypt's long history."

He went on to say, "The crowds I saw in Mit Abu Ghalib, Basyun, Hihya, and in Daysat today confirms that it is a great awakening for this people; it is the coming new dawn. It is the awakening that makes people reject exploitation, forbid any deputy to exploit people for personal gain, and not allow any party to prescribe policies not in the people's interests.

Choose, O Mubarak

"Hence, I shall not talk to President Mubarak and ask him for change. He has to choose between the National [Democratic] Party [NDP] and defend it or between his own path and choose the people. Either he chooses to stand on the side of the crooked people, those who have cooked up some infamous laws, or the people, all the people. I can truthfully say that the people want policies led by President Mubarak and not to let slogans he has proclaimed remain mere slogans. They have to become a reality. The people can make up for the NDP a hundredfold!"

Ibrahim Shukri then directed his words to the citizens, asking them, "Tell me, have you chosen a minister? Have you chosen a governor? Have you chosen



a city mayor? No! Therefore, the matter is very clear. The choice before President Mubarak is clear: either the people, all the people, or the band of crooks.

"You, Mr President, must depend on the people, all the people, and not tie yourself to this party. I shall never ask you for change. You choose your own path. I tell you sincerely that the people are the ones who hold the key to change. If you can effect change once, the people can do it many, many times."

#### We Want Security and Stability

He went on to say, "We shall not go out of our way for a desire here or a benefit there. But, our aim is security and stability for this people. This will not become a reality unless the people are able to express themselves. The matter is greater than saying we are spoiling things for the NDP and digging up the past.

Not at all. We must provide a true opportunity for Egypt to rise above everyone else, for Egypt to be first, Egypt [to be] above parties. This is the path that will lead us to the proper goal and other things. We shall lose everything [otherwise]. What we want is that every law must safeguard internationally recognized human rights, not just any law. This is the true sovereignty of the law.

"In every Egyptian city, in every Egyptian village, this people is demanding priorities and fundamentals. They are not asking for movie houses or theatres; they are asking for a health unit. They are asking for education for their children. In Basyun, they are searching for water and in Cairo, they are doing the same. But, who did all that? We are at a cross-road. After this long history, the situation requires some review. The situation must be in the people's hands because they own this right."

#### We Don't Have Anything With Which To Terrorize the People

He went on to talk about the elections, saying, "The SLP comes to you, asking for your votes. Should we win, we could never imagine that the prime minister, the city mayor or any governor had anything to do with our victory. We do not have anything to terrorize the people with. We do not have power, we do not have Central Security. Therefore, our victory would have one meaning: that the people had their say, the people chose. Consequently, our loyalty, by logic and reason, will be to no one but the people."

Commenting on the crowd's applause, he went on to say: "Yes, the SLP is the party of the people. When it gains your confidence, with God's help, its rule of the people, not by wishful thinking. We know our power among you, and we know that this crushed people will not vote for those who have made it suffer so much."

He added, "I shall go to Upper Egypt. I shall walk from village to village to bring the voice of the SLP to all the citizens of Egypt. I shall do that,

beginning in August. I know that it is a very hot month. I do this out of my conviction that the people must take personal control of their own affairs."

Eng Ibrahim Shukri then moved on to talk about the matter of belonging, which President Mubarak asked the mass media to promote. He said: "How can one belong when the values have been shaken before the people, before the youth? Young people want to get married, want a place to live, want money to live on. How [can this be achieved] when young people are graduated from the university only to find themselves classified into groups: those lucky ones who have relatives finding them jobs in investment companies at a salary five times greater than that of their colleagues who may have gotten a much higher grade than they did but did not have a highly-placed relative and had to wait several years for a government or public sector assignment at a very low salary?!"

"Thus, how can these people think of belonging when their whole country is emigrating in search of a suitable salary? We accept tightening the belts around our stomachs, but we must all be in the same boat. We are ready to be content with half a loaf, but we must all be together in that. Therefore, what is required is justice. We demand absolute justice and I would like to ask this question: 'Where is the slogan of "melting" the disparities between the classes?' This slogan, 31 years after the revolution, has been turned into 'providing disparities between the classes. Statistics say that in the pre-revolution era, there was only a handful of millionaires, whereas today, they are in the thousands, rather, tens of thousands. All of them traded in spoiled foodstuffs and adulterated cement. They are all profiteers.'" He also asked: How were those defective buildings allowed to go up only to collapse? How can that be, unless the perpetrators are the officials themselves?

"Therefore, if you wished, Mr President, to deepen belonging, you must establish justice. Then citizens will feel the desire to belong."

#### Democracy of the Pasha and the Governor

Dr Ahmad Amin 'Abd-al-Qhani, SLP secretary in al-Daqahliyah Governorate, said, "We meet here in Daysat, one of the Egyptian national fortresses. If we believe that each one of us citizens has a share of this country's soil and has a true [sense of] belonging, then we will be able to believe in defending this party and wipe out much corruption."

He elucidated by relating the story of the SLP and the Daysat people's struggle to attain the right of assembly, saying "I submitted a request to the security director, specifying three locations. He informed me that the most suitable place was this school's courtyard. I submitted a request to the governor outlining the viewpoint of security, and he referred me to the Talkha City council chairman who said that this fell within the jurisdiction of the undersecretary of education. I went back to security, saying that this school belonged to the people and the people had the right to assemble in it. So, I went to the governor who was holding a meeting. I asked his office director-- I had been aware that the NDP members were with him--who told me all of a sudden that 'the Pasha, the Governor' was out. I ran to him saying I had

been waiting for him, and he told me he would be back in half an hour. He then told me that the undersecretary of education did not approve!

"I told him I am a university graduate and it would be an honor for the governor to meet with me, and not vice versa. I am one of the simple people who benefited from the agrarian reform. I am one of the beneficiaries of the 23 July Revolution under 'Abd-al-Nasir's leadership and I, in your name, condemn this behavior on the part of the governor.

"So, I went to Eng Ibrahim Shukri and told him the situation. He contracted the interior minister and when I contacted the office director [of the governor], I was surprised to find out that the governor had agreed with the undersecretary of education.

"Thus, the situation is that the governor is carrying out the instructions of the NDP. So, we have to struggle to bring down these heads. I say to President Mubarak that those people are the ones who are hurting him.

"We call upon you, brothers, to rally around the SLP principles."

#### Faith in God Alone

Ahmad al-Faqqi, the People's Assembly member for the Aja District in al-Daqahliyah, delivered a speech in which he said: "Does anyone of you know the Shura Council member for the Talkha District? No. The coming People's Assembly elections shall follow the same manner because they are being custom-made for the National Party. It has become such that loyalty and affiliation is to the party slate and not to the people.

"The day of elections is the day for building Egypt and the one who goes to the [election] committee is producing [i.e., doing something positive].

"Each and every citizen is required to register to vote and must fear no one but God. No one from the NDP can tell the angel of death to take anyone. No. Therefore, let our faith be in God and God alone."

#### We Only Want our Humanity

Sa'id Kamil Sha'ban, SLP secretary in the village of Batrah, said: "The hearts of the people, although fettered, are with you, and, so long as you are working in the arena of simple people, they rally around you. Not too long ago you were in Batrah. Today, they are listening to you talk about the problems of thousands of simple souls.

"Many are the restrictions that have been imposed, but God's justice lives on. We do not covet positions, power or glory. We only wish to feel our humanity."

Sidqi Hasaballah, SLP secretary in Talkha, said: "Today, I saw a comedy explaining how the NDP is truly national and democratic! A comedy by leaders saying that they are achieving nationalism and democracy, but they did not permit the holding of this celebration in the school's courtyard.

"This scene, which you see before your eyes, Shukri, is the product of a committee formed a month ago out of 16 members who have grown today to 120 leaders who came here out of their own conviction. We did not tempt them with promises, with cement, with an apartment or with anything else. On the way, there are five offices in five other villages whose membership has reached 400 leaders, who believe in the principle [of the SLP], despite all the means of intimidation and terrorism still being applied, to the extent that members of the ruling party intensified their campaign against the masses, threatening them that state security investigations would go after them."

He added, saying, "At a time when the former president used to say that the opposition was 25 individuals, more than 1,000 citizens from Daysat alone declared their opposition to his policy."

Muhammad al-Dayasiti Na'im, SLP committee secretary in Daysat, expressed his pleasure and welcomed the Egyptian opposition leader to the land of Daysat on the road to true democracy. He explained that the most difficult thing is to attain the right, and that "we believe that the constitutional rights will not come to our doors. We offer ourselves as fuel for the national torch; even if we do not reap any fruits, the coming generations will."

#### Shukri Extols July Revolution

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 2 Aug 83 p 4

[Article: "Ibrahim Shukri Announces in Hihya Conference: 'The Ruling Party Can Not Get all the Votes Except Through Falsification'"]

[Text] For 2 and a half hours, until 1:15 am last Friday morning, Eng Ibrahim Shukri, the opposition leader and head of the Social Labor Party, spoke to the large crowds that assembled in the city of Hihya in al-Sharqiyah Governorate. He told them that the ones who led al-Sadat to the reviewing stand incident [i.e., the assassination] were the makers and cooks of the elaborate and custom-made laws, those who passed disreputable laws, and those who dissolved the legitimately-elected Bar Association. President Mubarak must know that they are not the counsellors [i.e., people respected for their advice] and that proceeding on this path is neither in the regime's interest nor in his own personal interest.

#### We Know How They Came!

He added, saying: "We know that President Husni Mubarak is not responsible for Sufi Abu Talib nor for Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim. You, people of Egypt, know how they got to their positions. We also know that President Mubarak is not responsible for Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din who, as you all know, gets excited over every regime. Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din can approve something in one regime and [do] the exact opposite in another regime. He approved, during the former president's regime, the abolition of the Administrative Control [Department], which was a curious thing. How could administrative control be abolished in the era of the open-door policy when attempts for unlawful gains were on the increase, thus requiring more control? Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din was commissioned to liquidate it. Then President Mubarak came and saw, in his wisdom, that right must be

restored; so, he issues a presidential decree calling for the restoration of administrative control and commissions Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din to bring it back!"

#### I Salute Martyr 'Awwad

Eng Ibrahim Shukri went on to talk about the city of Hihya, saying: "Hihya is always on my mind." He explained how feudalism dominated souls and properties, and saluted martyr 'Awwad, the Hihya native who sacrificed his blood in defense of farmers' rights. "There were investigations by princes, aided by the police and the authorities and 'Awwad was the victim. But his cause was the cause of Egypt's Socialist Party in whose name I submitted an agricultural reform bill in 1951. A large group of Egypt's elite, including Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, secretary general of the SLP, took part in preparation of that bill."

The party leader then talked about a man to whom he owes much, author and freedom-fighter Muhammad al-Hihyawawi. He recounted how he visited his son, Salah al-Hihyawawi, the day following the publication of the newspaper, AL-SARKHAH, which had a great impact on his life. He announced that the SLP will hold a general conference to draw up a platform which it will follow if it gets a majority vote. He explained that he was saying this because he will not reply to Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din.

#### Talk About Meant

Eng Ibrahim Shukri moved on to talk about the meat shortage, saying: "Egypt has never, in its entire history, been able to realize self-sufficiency in red meat. If the government is offering the people subsidized meat, then it must be distributed equitably." Eng Ibrahim Shukri concluded by urging young people to work at any job because the objective is Egypt.

#### Freedom Is All Our Cause

Shaykh Ibrahim al-'Azazi, People's Assembly member for al-Sharqiyah, said that "85 percent of the land in Hihya used to belong to the feudal lords. But after agrarian reform, ownership was transferred to the whole country. But the people are searching for much, [including] security and freedom. I feel freedom in Egypt when every employee can say 'I state my views and God will provide.' When every official can say 'I am not afraid for myself or for my property.' When I see that security is not concerned with anyone talking politics, when I see opulence, then there is freedom. Therefore, freedom is the hope of all people in Egypt. Cowardice has begun creeping into the hearts of many. Some tell themselves that if they joined the opposition they would be harmed. I admit that President Husni Mubarak despises the bad actions being undertaken by some profiteers. Egypt is fine.

"O people of Egypt, Freedom wants to get fear out of your soul and feels that God is the provider, [He] Who is capable of everything. We need to produce; if the 45 million inhabitants worked to produce one brick a month, you can imagine how prosperous Egypt could be. Egypt is for all Egyptians, and the entire population is responsible for it. All the parties are responsible for

it. It is our Egypt. The mighty, the ruling party, the party of racketeers must know that Egypt does not belong to them, that political action is not inherited. The ruling party is not concerned with raising people's consciousness. It wants to remain in power. Hence, the people will go on rejecting it. A good example is what Egypt needs."

Dr 'Atif Zaghlul, secretary of the SLP in al-Sharqiyah Governorate, thanked those who attended the conference and the SLP leaders who are touring the governorates, the districts, the villages and the hamlets to get close to the people. He also thanked the security men, led by Brig Gen Amin Shahin, for the great effort they exerted for the success of the conference.

Muhammad al-Sayyuri, labor secretary of the Hihay party committee, said: "In the name of the toiling workers and in the name of the country's builders, we welcome the opposition who, along with his colleagues led by the late Ahmad Husayn, God rest his soul, kindled national consciousness in conferences, seminars and the press. The result was the glorious 23 July Revolution and the ensuing gains of the people, in general, and the workers, in particular, who became partners in the administration.

#### A March for Free Opinion

Mr Qatayah, president of the athletic club in Hihya, welcomed Eng Ibrahim Shukri, adding: "We welcome Eng Ibrahim Shukri who waited for a year to hold the first conference in Hihya in order to fight arguments with arguments."

He added, "We must consult among ourselves; parties must not fight among themselves. You have suffered much in order to express sound opinions.

"This conference represents a new march for free opinion, and we are striving to arrive at sound opinions by viewpoints and counter-viewpoints. Otherwise, it is absolute dictatorship. This march is a good omen. We must make Hihya a lighthouse for debates in order to establish sound opinions."

Sa'id 'Abd-al-Da'im, secretary of the al-Ibrahimiyyah committee, said: "Here we are blessed by heaven and protected by the constitution. We agree on the word of the truth." He reviewed how Ibrahim Shukri applied the agrarian reform law to himself before the revolution and how the July Revolution implemented the law which he introduced in parliament in 1951. "We will not say 'Go with your God and fight, we are staying here.' Rather, we say, 'Go with your God and fight, we are fighting with you'."

#### Where Are the July Gains?!

Eng 'Abd-al-Mun'im 'Asakir, secretary of Abu Kabir, said: "It is more honorable for us to die than to kneel before the legions of injustice and oppression. We will never surrender to them. The country of Mustafa Kamil, Sa'd Zaghlul and Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir will never get on its knees. Some have seized the gains of the glorious July Revolution for their own personal gain."



He wondered, Where have the July Revolution's gains gone?" and explained, "These gains shall never die and we shall hold onto them."

Dr Muhammad Hasan Sarhan, secretary of the Naqush committee, said: "The doctor advised me a long time ago to give up public speaking. But in the company of this gathering, I had the urge to speak." He recited a poem that began as follows: "O Egypt, O cradle of agriculture. What is happening to you. God related in the Koran the story of the seven ears of grain which died and that was a sign of deprivation. Today, your land is tired, not because of crops but because of fire. [poem apparently ends here] I need only to debate the government in its tower to show it how the people of the fields are living."

#### A Document in Blood

Muhammad Mahmud, secretary of the al-Qantarah Sharq committee, said: "We know that the road of opposition is difficult and not covered with roses. We entered the opposition because we know that God is with us."

"I say to the party leader that the people of al-Qantarah poured into the Labor Party headquarters in al-Qantarah to register their sorrow over what happened and to send cables to the president of the republic."

After he delivered his speech, he presented Eng Ibrahim Shukri with a document [signed] in blood.

Ibrahim al-Ja'fari, party youth secretary in Ismailia, said: "Oh, you, young people, men and women of Egypt. The time has come for every one of us to know his role and fulfill his duty. Oh, young people of '83, be like the young people of '33 who led the national movement."

#### Tell Mubarak

Bahi-al-Din 'Arfah, party committee secretary, said: "Labor Party men demand change for the sake of Egypt and for the sake of a righteous society. They are urging the rulers to face up to the difficulties. Negligence and laxity must be wiped out, otherwise corruption will be the rule. We, the men of the Labor Party, pledge to sacrifice our souls and hearts for Egypt. Egypt is full of honorable and competent men who, if we were to arm [them] with truth, would achieve justice."

#### Ismailia Incident

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 2 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by 'Atif Husayn: "Ibrahim Shukri Declares in Ismailia: 'Attempt on Our Life, Treachery, Turning off Lights and Disturbances Are not Actions of Real Men'"]

[Text] Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad says: "The only way to stay away from violence is to listen to the other point of view. Egypt today is passing through important and delicate circumstances from all standpoints."



After opening the al-Qantarah Sharq headquarters, opposition leader and SLP head Eng Ibrahim Shukri returned to Ismailia to attend the popular conference held in al-Fanar Club, while Mamduh Qinawi remained in al-Qantarah police station writing a report about the incident in which the National [Democratic] Party secretary in al-Qantarah Sharq and others were accused of attempting to kill the SLP leaders and his companions.

**They Closed off the Bathrooms!**

In front of the Suez Canal Authority al-Fanar Club, where the SLP conference was held, Muhammad abu-al-Fadl al-Jizawi, executive committee member, arrived in his car with SLP Secretary General Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad and SLP executive committee member Ahmad Farghali. Abu-al-Fadl al-Jizawi wanted to go to the bathroom but was stopped by the club management and an altercation ensued. The club management had closed off all the doors leading to the bathrooms and had turned off the ceiling fans in the conference hall. Abu-al-Fadl al-Jizawi was forced to go to the nearby "Misr Theatre" garage in Ismailia to relieve himself.

All this took place while police forces spread out, some sitting in chairs on street corners while others were cruising the streets around the conference site. National Party leaders began barring the people from going to the conference headquarters, taking advantage of the presence of security forces to threaten them if they went in. Amidst this tension, Eng Ibrahim Shukri arrived with Shaykh Ibrahim al-'Azzawi, People's Assembly member; party secretary in al-Daqahliyah, Ahmad Amin 'Abd-al-Ghani, had arrived ahead of them.

The conference began. The first speaker was Barsum Musa Barsum, secretary general of the union committee of the Port Works Canal Company, who welcomed the giants of Egyptian patriotism in the name of the Ismaili workers.

He was followed by Muhammad Salih al-'Ayidi al-Muhami, party organization secretary in Ismailia. He welcomed the opposition leader who implanted in the hearts of the young people the love for democracy and freedom for which they are ready to offer sacrifices. He explained that the party in Ismailia shall continue its pursuit of corruption, graft and favoritism.

Then, the SLP secretary in al-Qantarah Gharb, 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-'Ayidi, spoke. He explained that the people are suffering nowadays from high handedness by the government, which wants to monopolize politics, and that the freedom of expression is a hope many honorable people are struggling for.

**Lights Turned off, Disturbance Begins!**

As soon as SLP committee secretary, Muhammad Mahmud, stood up to speak and present the facts about the attempted assault against Eng Ibrahim Shukri, ruling party officials turned off the lights and a number of bullies occupied the front seats of the conference hall, causing a disturbance and cheering for the NCP.

### It Is not a Manly Attitude

At this point, Eng Ibrahim Shukri stood up and raised his hand saying, "Repeat with me: God is great, long live the people." Everyone fell silent, waiting to hear what the party leader had to say. Ibrahim Shukri bellowed: "I came to you here thinking that Ismailia men are more sensible than this. Turning off lights and attempting assaults against us are not actions of real men. This cannot be a tactic between us and among ourselves. I saw a scene that made my heart bleed. I found Jewish tourists in buses witnessing and photographing a shameful scene. The National Party secretary was standing by with a handful of evil ex-convicts, all carrying sticks, hoses and stones! The issue of democracy cannot be based on a one-sided dialogue. The constitution has been amended from a one-organization [i.e., single-party] system to multiple parties in order to give a chance for many viewpoints. We have not come here to take anything or remove anyone from his seat. Rather, we came here to have a dialogue with you. I say to the security authorities that this is the last time we agree to hold a meeting in a closed place. There was supposed to have been a word of honor between us, but treachery and turning off lights are not actions of real men nor are they honorable acts." At this point, Eng Ibrahim Shukri stopped talking until power was restored.

### Strong Ruler, Strong Opposition

After a whole hour, power was restored and Shaykh Ibrahim al-'Azazi spoke, saying: "We have come to your town, Ismailia, the town of all Egyptians." He went on, saying: "Democracy is exactly like plants. The fact is democracy in Egypt was not planted well. We need a breeze of freedom. If what happened today in al-Qantarah had happened during the occupation days, it would have been acceptable from the British. But, God's curse upon the devil! who, instead of removing a brick from the road so that everyone can go through, threw bricks. Ismailia is an open town through which enemies and friends alike pass. If an Israeli ship were to cross the canal, will you throw bricks at it? A strong ruler needs a strong opposition to be strong, and vice versa. Therefore, we are all required to support the opposition and it is a shame for us not to listen to the other point of view.

"You are the most virtuous people of your city and you know best who the thieves and the bloodsuckers are. We have come here to tell you this."

### We Are Passing Through a Dangerous Stage

Then, Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, secretary general of the party, began to speak, and, as soon as he started, the interruptions began.

Nevertheless, he insisted on speaking and said:

"Today, Egypt is passing through delicate circumstances from all angles and viewpoints: the Arab, the military, the economic and the political. It is truly a dangerous stage. If we do not have a dialogue about this stage, we could fall into danger. By exchanging viewpoints we will be following almighty God's advice to his prophets about taking counsel. Perhaps the first issue

is the matter of changing the electoral process. This issue is submitted for debate so that we may have a better understanding of it. The law that has been issued is still raising much controversy. In the face of this, we cannot shut doors, close bathrooms and turn off lights. There are issues in need of debate so that we may find the good in them!"

Dr Hilmi Murad went on to say: "A number of free [or liberal] writers have dealt with this subject. In the forefront was Mr Mustafa Amin who made some observations which we must consider and study. President Mubarak himself said that he preferred the proportional slate, and, therefore, sought to convince the National Party of this. This required an amendment of the local popular councils election system in order to make it uniform. But we were surprised by the issuance of a call to the voters without considering the amendment. All that notwithstanding, the issue still stands.

#### Means of Forgery

With regard to the People's Assembly elections, the opposition parties believe that all national forces and parties must be consulted because it is a national issue, and national issues must not be a subject of dispute."

He went on to say: "The imposition of a certain percentage of the total vote on the parties' entry into the People's Assembly is unacceptable. This percentage can be a manipulative tool in the hands of the ruling party to bring down those who win assembly membership in some districts."

At this point, some National Party members, who had been planted among the people, caused a commotion for a few minutes, after which Dr Hilmi Murad said:

"All that we hope for is to understand the picture we are seeing tonight. Is it that any group, be they rulers or those around them, can be annoyed [by this] while being tolerant of the other viewpoints?

"We would like to say to them that we wish them divine guidance because they are playing with fire. When they revile the opposition leaders, they imagine that they are serving the interests of some leaders, but, unfortunately, they revile those whom they think they are serving."

He shouted, saying: "Oh people, look at alternate proposals and debate them. Does the attainment of freedom and the arrival of the true deputies at the People's Assembly lead to that? We are sorry to see this and hope that it will not be repeated in any other place we go because this will be a very bad sign that will have the worst effects.

"The only way to stay away from violence is to listen to the other viewpoint. Taking this away makes people turn to violence because it stands between them and their freedom."

Dr Hilmi Murad asked God to save the country from such violence and to guide those who are harming it by their irresponsible acts.

## The Lights Went off Again

As soon as Eng Ibrahim Shukri stood up to deliver his speech, the trouble-makers left the conference hall. Then the power went off so that Eng Ibrahim Shukri would have to speak in the dark and without a microphone. He proceeded with his speech until 1:00 a.m.

The party leader said that election day is a holiday when a candidate seeks the smallest citizen, asking for his votes, and the citizen feels the importance of his vote.

He added: "When a citizen casts his vote freely, the people will have a positive feeling of participation in the rule. I get a feeling of deep sorrow when I see citizens and policemen fixing ballots and putting them in the boxes. They do not realize that they are committing the worst crime against the people, the crime of forging the people's will.

"Thus, before having elections by slates, we demanded some guarantees. The parties presented a memo to President Mubarak and submitted a bill to the People's Assembly in the name of the Labor Party. However, the People's Assembly did not look into it despite the fact that two sessions have been conducted since then!"

## The Six-Day Law

Eng Ibrahim Shukri mockingly said: "Can any law that is meant to change what people have been used to since 1923 pass in 6 days?

"How can the prime minister, while putting the 8 percent condition, simply come and say that the party that does not get this percentage does not have the honor of representation under the dome! Who says so? The first demand is to establish guarantees that entry to the polls will be by personal and family ID's; that registration will be done through the civil statistics register; that people verify their presence at the polls by signature of fingerprints; and that elections be held under the supervision of a judicial body." He added, "I think that no one rejects these guarantees and that they are in Egypt's interest."

## More Details on Incident

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 2 Aug 83 p 10

[Article: "Twenty-six Troublemakers Behind the Ismailia Incidents, Aided by Public Security"]

[Text] AL-SHA'B has learned that 26 trouble-makers caused the disturbances in the SLP conference in Ismailia and that this list included a number of outlaws led by al-Nass, Abu-al-Nawwas, al-Na'man, Shakshuk, Samahah and Ishaq.

AL-SHA'B has also learned that they had split up to do certain designated tasks. Shakshuk was carrying a pocketknife to cut the microphone wires outside the building while Samahah and Ishaq had the job of cutting off the power.

The strange thing is that these actions took place by direct verbal instructions from a ranking security official in the Ismailia precinct and a number of officers from the Criminal Investigation Branch who received their instruction from a senior political leader in Ismailia.

Stranger is the fact that Dr Hilmi Murad asked, through the microphone, the assistant interior minister and the Ismailia chief and assistant chief of security, who were sitting in front of the conference hall entrance, to intervene to remove five hoodlums who were causing the disturbance. But the strange answer of the assistant security chief was that it was not any of his business and that SLP members should lock themselves in and beat them up!

This strange and irresponsible reply made SLP members in Ismailia feel that it was nothing but a trick to set up Labor Party members for arrest by the police and foil the conference!

#### July Revolution Significance Stressed

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 2 Aug 83 p 2, 12

[Article by 'Atif Husayn: "In the Party's Weekly Seminar: Young People Must Safeguard July Revolution Achievements. 'Abd-al-Nasir Set a Splendid Example for Third World Peoples by Nationalizing the Suez Canal"]

[Text] Eng Ibrahim Shukri, SLP leaders, announced that the NDP was not satisfied with the powers it already enjoys: the powers of the president of the republic, of the prime minister and of the ministers. It controls information [media], and the headquarters of the Socialist Union is in its grip. Nonetheless, it has insisted on reinforcing its ranks with hoodlums and ex-convicts.

This was at the party's weekly seminar attended by People's Assembly member Shaykh Ibrahim al-'Azazi, Ahmad Farghali, Fu'ad Nushi and Dr Ahmad Yasin Nassar, party secretary in Asyut.

I Shall Carry Arms!

Eng Ibrahim Shukri went on to say, "I had met with President Muhammad Husni Mubarak the morning following the al-Qantarash Sharq and Ismailia incidents, during which National Party leaders tried to attack me." He explained that this matter forced itself on the meeting [with the president]. The president expressed his deep sorrow and dismay at such behavior, saying that he was going to instruct the prime minister and interior minister [on this matter] because he did not accept such excesses.

"The following day, I attended naval maneuvers at the invitation of President Mubarak and Field Marshal Abu Ghazalah. I saw Prime Minister Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din and talked with him about the al-Qantarash and Ismailia incidents. He said he was sorry for what had happened and explained that he had heard about it late at night through the Interior Ministry, but what was told to him was not true!"

Eng Ibrahim Shukri explained that he told the prime minister that the only solution was to conduct an investigation among the National Party's ranks because, if the ruling party had any self-respect, failure to conduct an investigation would mean that this party condones such methods, and anyone who respects himself must preserve law and order. But if it wavers in the face of the citizens or if it fails to keep law and order, he will call upon the citizens to carry arms in self-defense!

He added, "I told the prime minister that in all my years and all these times that I have lived through, I never submitted a request to obtain weapons, but believe me, Dr Fu'ad, I am going to submit a request for an arms permit to defend myself so that the al-Qantarah and Ismailia incidents will not be repeated."

#### The July Revolution Is Linked to the Party

Eng Ibrahim Shukri moved on to talk about the 23 July Revolution, saying that this revolution "is tied to your revolution and your sons, for the Socialist Party, and the Young Egypt Party before it, paved the way for this revolution, inasmuch as when the army vanguard undertook the revolution, it changed society radically without bloodshed. It was a white revolution, and that is because the way had been paved owing to the work of the sincere people before the revolution; thus, the success of the revolution."

He went on to say: "Hence, when we criticize the revolution, we are criticizing ourselves. Therefore, it was not strange to find in the pages of AL-SHA'B newspaper articles written with spontaneity and national criticism.

"We used to attack the situation before the revolution. Not everything was something. At the head of the state was a corrupt king and there was feudalism, capitalism and British colonialism. But we can say that there were aspects we criticized following that, such as freedom of speech. Your party, you young people, paved the way for the revolution. AL-ISHTIRAKIYAH wrote before the revolution, calling for revolution and change. It was natural that AL-ISHTIRAKIYAH had more than one editor in chief; when one entered prison, the second one came forward, and when the second one entered [prison], the third one came forward, and so on. We did not know underground work or work in the dark. When the revolution erupted, we saw things changing and the six principles declared. We found a lot of what we have been calling for being realized. The agrarian reform law, which I had submitted to parliament in the name of the Socialist Party before the revolution, came to light, and the law abolishing titles was put into effect. But there remained a point of contention about the revolution's democratic dimension. Some of us saw that the revolution was right and some saw that it was wrong. Nevertheless, we all were with the 23 July Revolution which achieved many of our ideas, including the Egyptianization of the national economy and the nationalization of the canal."



## Negativisms of the July Revolution

He went on to say: "Some of the negativisms were that the revolution was not able to organize the people's ranks in a way that urged them to follow and preserve its principles and to fight for its sake. The format of the working people's forces alliance was a good formula because it was an alternative to a class struggle. But, unfortunately, it observed form and not substance. It did not pay attention to organizing the ranks of the various classes within the framework of this alliance. There were constant attempts to secure labor leaders' loyalty to the regime and the result was that many of the July principles were deviating from the course, due to the absence of forces able to preserve these principles. The enemies of the revolution were able to deviate a lot in the 'open-door' era."

He added, "We must preserve the 23 July Revolution which took place under the leadership of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. No matter how much it has been criticized, it was great. It allowed Egypt to assume a great position in Africa, Asia, the Arab world, the Third World and the nonaligned countries after it had been an occupied state. The 23 July Revolution set off an awakening, not only in Egypt but throughout all the developing world as well. Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir offered Third World peoples a unique example of national action by nationalizing the Suez Canal.

"Some might say that the role 'Abd-al-Nasir set for Egypt was greater than its economic capabilities. At any rate, we must preserve the positive aspects of the 23 July Revolution and keep away from its negativisms, the most dangerous of which is people's dependence on resolutions handed down from above by the authorities, a matter which had led to the spread of negativism. Thus, democracy is the issue of the time and it begins with honest elections."

## Memories That Do not Fade

Fu'ad Nushi, the party's assistant secretary, had talked at the beginning of the seminar, saying: "As is our custom every year, we celebrate national occasions. At the forefront of these glorious occasions is the 23 July Revolution that took place in 1952, coupled with the ouster of King Faruq on 26 July 1952.

"The Egyptian revolution did not assume its full constitutional form until the day King Faruq was expelled because, during the 3 days that followed, Faruq was the ruler and the commander of the army and the Egyptian Government was taking its oath before him. This step was the true consolidation of this revolution.

"We have the right to reaffirm this notion: the Socialist Young Egypt Party was the one to ignite the fires of revolution before the revolution was announced on 23 July. The party had declared a socialist platform: AL-ISHTIRAKIYAH newspaper was carrying revolutionary slogans before the revolution.

"Ahmad Husayn openly declared on the pages of AL-ISHTIRAKIYAH the coming of the revolution, and, before a year had passed, the revolution did come. The day it broke out, the AL-ISHTIRAKIYAH editors in chief were in prison on charges of dishonoring the monarchy. Ibrahim Shukri was in Cairo prison; Ibrahim al-Ziyadi, AL-ISHTIRAKIYAH editor in chief, was being tried on the same charge; 'Abd-al-Khaliq al-Takiyah was serving a sentence for the same charge. There were other liberals: martyr Sayyid Qutub was also charged, as was Ihsan 'Abd-al-Quddus. There were many liberal writers who attacked the king vehemently and denounced colonialism, feudalism and corruption, and who were subjected to attacks, including freedom-fighter Abu-al-Khayr Najib, editor in chief of AL-JUMHURIYAH newspaper, who died a year ago. I myself was in Hukstep detention camp when the revolution broke out because warrants for our arrest had been issued. The great freedom-fighter, Fathi Radwan, was also detained. In the Hukstep detention camp, the national front was formed out of the various national currents: Socialists, Wafdists, independents, progressives and others.

"A large number of Labor Party leaders had a great share in preparing for the 23 July Revolution at a great cost, and thank God, the people triumphed.

"Were it not for the will of this people, had the citizens not prepared for it, it would not have taken place. While we salute the Free Officers, we also salute the free citizens."

Wish You Were With Us, 'Abd-al-Nasir

Executive committee member Ahmad Farghali said: "We, who are beyond the age of youth, must, along with the youth, remain young elders [i.e., old people with a young spirit]. I have never seen such a position as the one in Ismailia, a firm position, a manly one; also, in al-Qantarah Sharq. It was a symbol of steadfastness and solidity, and this is not strange for Ibrahim Shukri. The speech that moved most [people] from inside at the national forces conference was that of Ibrahim Shukri when he told Fathi Radwan, 'You knew me when my blood was running over the bridge and I am ready to have my blood run once again.'

"It seems that the National Party wanted just that, hence the Ismailia massacre. If only it was directed against colonialism, but it was directed against democracy. We used to think that [former interior minister] al-Nabawi was the one for the 'stone' [i.e., brick] democracy, as happened in Asyut, but who learned from him? Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din came to outdo him.

"That is what they are teaching them in the National Party. I used to think that they were teaching them how to lie, but they are teaching their youth insults, karati and slander against the honorable.

"In spite of all this, the conference was a success and the National [Party], with all its forces, failed."



"I would like to salute all the young people of Ismailia who stood with us and the young people of Port Sa'id who insisted on holding the celebration in reply to what happened in Ismailia.

"I used to believe that the faithful leader was really faithful, and the sixth orthodox caliph, as they called him. But, I did not know that he drank alcohol, as Haykal said in his book. Therefore, it is not strange not to pass Islamic Shari'ah laws, and it is not strange that one of al-Sadat's students is forging the papers for the departure of members from the Shura Council by lot-casting!" He then reviewed some of the writings of great writers, such as Mustafa Amin, Jalal-al-Din al-Hamamsi and Fathi Ghanim, about the elections issue. He mocked a news item from AL-AHRAM announcing the results of high school exam from the National Party headquarters.

He finished speaking, saying: "Wish you were with us, Oh 'Abd-al-Nasir to see how the 23 July principles have been destroyed, to see the flag of Israel planted in the heart of the Arab nation."

#### A Good Seed Does not Die!

Mamduh Qinawi, executive committee member, said: "Talk on the occasion of the 23 [July] Revolution's anniversary is not a trip down memory lane. Our talking about it is the talk of yesterday, today and tomorrow. It cannot be separated from our talk about its preludes, and I want to make it clear that the SLP is not far from this revolution. History is a witness to this. We must not forget that 'Abd-al-Nasir was the unique son of Young Egypt. I saw 'Abd-al-Nasir's photo in the home of Ahmad Husayn, leader of the Young Egypt movement, wearing a green shirt.

"Leader Ahmad Husayn used to say that a good seed does not die; thus, 'Abd-al-Nasir carried the seed of Young Egypt and so did the 23 July Revolution.

"When we talk about the good and bad of the revolution 31 years later, we live through its positive and its native aspects. When we talk about the revolution, we do not criticize its leaders but we criticize ourselves. It is known that the revolution was undertaken by the Free Officers who were not dissociated from the six principles. Today, 31 years later, if we were to look for these goals, we would find that many of them, some of which were realized at the outset, have faded. This happened during the al-Sadat period. The time for putting the house in order from within after the British departed was supposed to have come. If we were to talk about social justice, the people are as far away from it as ever.

#### Democracy's Massacre

"I speak today about the revolution's sixth goal, which is to realize a true democracy, 31 years after the revolution. Leader Ibrahim Shukri goes to the opening of the party's headquarters in al-Qantarah Sharq. About 5:15 [pm] we set out from al-Ma'diyah. Before reaching the canal's east coast, we see Jewish tourists. Not only did we have the honor of being met by Jews, the National Party was also waiting for us. The secretary of the National Party in al-Qantarah Sharq, an ex-convict who had a band of 12 individuals like

him, showered us with insults and threats. 'The only way you are entering al-Qantarrah is dead' [he said]. The assault with rocks and railroad bars began. They used the vehicles of the al-Qantarrah Sharq city council to set up a barricade. Upon being showered with rocks, some companions thought Ibrahim Shukri should return to al-Ma'diyah to take shelter. But what happened was that Ibrahim pushed forward like a young man, saying 'I will not return and I will go the rest of the way on foot!'

"Ibrahim Shukri now represents the apex of loyalty to Egypt, a precious value, who cannot help it if fate has been saving him for a big role. Although the police were notified in advance, no precautionary measures were taken. There was only one rescue vehicle with two police officers who did not do a thing.

"Most of all, I wished President Husni Mubarak was there to see that it is not an honor for him to head the National Party. What hurt me most was that the Jews photographed this scene, the scene of the Egyptian opposition leader being banned from entering al-Qantarrah Sharq.

"We must review the revolutionary goals that have been realized. Now that we are at a crossroads, what does Egypt need? I see that Egypt needs an ideology and a leader like Gandhi; a leader who believes in Egypt, a leader who talks the streets, talking to people, giving them strength and hope."

Dr Ahmad Yasin Nassar, secretary of the SLP in Asyut, recited a poem he wrote that began as follows:

Do you remember, father, on this night  
A silent night in the month of July  
When eyes went to bed with a tear  
Crying over the state of our country  
Total oppression by national detachments  
And crushing poverty for most  
Corruption, negligence and destruction for Egypt  
by the King, the entourage and the thieves  
In the streets are soldiers in khaki and the glitter of bayonets  
And in the neighborhoods hearts appealing to God.

I Say to President Mubarak

Then People's Assembly member Shaykh Ibrahim al-'Azazi spoke: "We were in Ismailia 2 days ago. Before that, in Damietta and before that, in the People's Assembly. During these 10 days, Ibrahim Shukri [went through] an important stage which began with a debate on the election law bill.

"What happened in al-Qantarrah Sharq is the kind of thing we would expect of people who are fighting for something they can gain from. They imagined that by doing this, the governor would give them medals. Their number was small but they were artists at being kill-joys. But, we succeeded, thank God. We went [there] to appeal for the sake of the Egyptian people. We do not have a radio station or a TV station. Our circumstances are difficult, but our hope is great.

The climate is ready. Each of us is required to be an Ibrahim Shukri, a torch everywhere, for the love of God and Egypt, for the sake of saving the country from our present situation. The 23 July Revolution was a point of deliverance from a temporal era. Before the revolution, there was freedom to attack the British, the king and his aides. It is true that prisons were open but men of justice used to stand on the side of right. Then the revolution took place, and there was hope. Day after day, the king was expelled, agricultural reform came, then the public sector, and prisons were opened. We all loved the revolution. Then came al-Sadat and Mubarak. Here I say that the Egyptians have been patient. What crimes have the people of Egypt committed? Of what offense are they guilty? The people of Egypt, of what offense are they guilty? The people of Egypt did not have one single traitor among them. A patient and content people who did not say 'I am hungry.'"

He said, directing his words to President Husni Mubarak, "You must rise because the big gang that is in action does not want to see freedom and democracy. It wants the people to be shackled. We say to you that the people of Egypt are behind you if you are to save them from shackles and those who claim patriotism and democracy. We would like to say that in Egypt there is freedom and true democracy."

Mrs Bahjat al-Rahib said: "We renew our pledge of allegiance to the heroic fighter Ibrahim Shukri and his twin, Dr Hilmi Murad. I could not bear to see young people learning revilement and using such foul language." She complained that TV cameras moved away from Ibrahim Shukri three times when he was standing up to the former prime minister.

#### Facade of Democratic Elections

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 2 Aug 83 p 7

[Article by Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad: "Freedom of Elections First. Without it no Democracy and no Stability"]

[Text] It is clear that the leaders of the ruling party are formulating their vision of the next People's Assembly and are enacting legislation, drawing up rules and regulations, and practicing actions that will achieve this desired picture. While it is not a shame for a political party to set a goal for itself and to strive for its realization, it must not be done, however, by distorting democracy, digressing from the rules of sound practices, and misusing power for personal ends.

#### The Independents Are Banned

The NDP wants to bar some religious and political currents from entering the general elections under the "independents" label because it is able to prevent them from forming parties that would bring them together. This is based on a law governing the organization of political parties that stipulates that a committee, whose majority belongs to the ruling party, has the right to approve or deny the request.

But they are hiding their true intentions by saying that the independents have neither an identity nor any significance and must join one of the existing parties. Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din adds that the programs of the existing parties "have everything and there is no need for more [parties] unless those independents are searching for a leadership for themselves!"

It is as though Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din has become the guardian of party programs, deciding which ones are acceptable or unacceptable to the people and how many of them there should be. Anyone who thinks of forming a new party becomes a subject of ridicule and censure because he seeks a leadership or chairmanship.

The true picture comes to light, however, when, in a press interview, AL-AHRAM newspaper asked the extraordinary jurist, minister Mukhtar Hani, about the status of a People's Assembly member under the system of slates should he resign from his party, on whose slate he was elected. He said that he would remain an "independent" member in the assembly or join "another party."

How can the "independent deputy" system be abolished at first, then allowed to exist later. Does Minister Mukhtar Hani want to leave the door open for continued pressure on opposition party deputies to get them out of these parties, as has been the case with the existing assembly, and have them join the ruling party, even though the elections will not be on an individual basis, but according to slates from a certain party to be elected by the citizens?

The logic of elections by party slates provides that any People's Assembly member, who resigns from the party on whose slate he was elected, must leave his place for the member who was next on the party's slate because the voters chose a party, not an individual. But the constitutional logic never occurred to them and what they are concerned with is to have their own way. The independents are rejected at first, but there is no objection to their coming aboard later, so long as they achieve an overwhelming majority that guarantees them unchallenged control of the decisionmaking process.

While they want to keep the religious and Wafdist currents away, they do not want the legal opposition parties to go full force into the elections, thereby strengthening the opposition within the People's Assembly and diminishing the size of the ruling party which cannot get the present majority in truly free elections.

The voters cannot give their votes to those who have failed to solve their problems, showered their followers and cronies with favors at the expense of the people, violated the constitution, restricted freedom, failed to realize social justice and achieve strict application of the law in order to end corruption and deviations.

Thus, even though they may have decided to hold People's Assembly elections by party slates with proportional representation, that is, distribution of seats according to the number of votes for each party slate, they want to hold an ax in their hand to destroy any success realized by any of the opposition parties, a success conditional on obtaining 8 percent of the total national

vote. An opposition party could win more than 25 seats in the People's Assembly only to be told that it did not obtain the same ratio on the republic's level, so its deputies would lose the elections and their seats would be transferred to the party with the greatest majority!

They want to have an opposition so that they can claim that their rule is a democratic rule with views and counterviews. But, at the same time, they do not want to give such opposition the chance to grow and prosper in a way that would render it effective in steering matters and in making decisions.

If the number of opposition members of different affiliations in the People's Assembly is 19 out of a total of 395 members, there is no objection to this number going up--on the most optimistic assumption and provided that Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din give up his notion of "consensus," which even the good Lord does not demand from his worshipers--since the total number of People's Assembly members will go up to 448. But it will remain ineffective since the opposition leader has not yet been able, during two consecutive sessions, to submit to the People's Assembly for debate a proposal to amend the political rights law so as to guarantee impartial elections. This is even though the government and its party are confident that they have the overwhelming majority in the assembly to reject this proposal if they wished.

In order to arrive at this objective, the climate of partisan practices available to the opposition is waning little by little.

Terrified by the crowds who assembled at a popular conference called for by the Labor Party, the authorities began imposing restrictions on meeting places, stipulating that public meetings should be held in closed places, as though the government had become incapable of keeping the peace.

Instead of taking the imminent local and People's Assembly elections as a means of facilitating an encounter between the political parties and the masses--if there actually existed a true wish to make the parties' policies and programs the path for democratic practice--we find that suppression is intensifying to a degree that out-of-the-way places are selected [as meeting sites] and meeting sites are changed by official agencies only a few hours before the scheduled time. All that with the aim of placing obstacles before the citizens and keeping them away from the meetings.

Some security agencies have embarked on a new kind of terrorism by conducting investigations against some new members of opposition parties or by making inquiries about them with a view to spreading fear and terror among their parents.

In addition, some people are being infiltrated to cause trouble and discord within the parties and to inform on them. But the gravest thing is that security men are giving a free hand to the ruling party and its men to plan assaults or to try to break up party meetings by cutting off power or creating boycotts and trouble, as happened in al-Qantarah Sharq during the opening of the Labor Party committee headquarters, and in Ismailia during a meeting held at the Suez Canal Authority club.

Most bewildering is the fact that after permission to hold the meeting at the club had been granted, half of the hall, including the part that contained the posters and the podium, was closed off, as were all the toilets and all the doors, except one. Lights were turned off more than once in order to shut off the microphone, all childish behavior demonstrating base souls and sick minds.

At the time when the road was blocked to stop traffic to al-Qantarah Sharq and bricks and stones were used under the command of an NDP leader at the Ismailia meeting, high officials in the governorate were absent, although it was not an official holiday or a weekend! The police were standing far away, doing nothing to protect anyone from the assailants.

This is a dangerous situation. Those behind these actions are playing with fire because, if each party were to depend on its own devices to protect itself and to meet aggression with aggression, we would be heading for anarchy and violence. Is this what the government wants?

**The Ruling Party Subjugates the Government's Influence and Powers to Its Own Advantage**

At a time when the government is tightening its grip around the throat of the opposition parties because of its unease over the people's response to them, we find the ruling party trying every way possible to subjugate the government's influence and capabilities to its own advantage and that of its members, thus aggravating people's anger and exasperation.

Radio and TV stations are devoted to news about meetings and speeches of ruling party leaders; the University of Cairo opens its meetings halls and stadium for the ruling party's youth conference.

Even the results of high school diploma exams are announced from NDP headquarters, not to mention all the benefits and privileges enjoyed by the party members everywhere!

**Government Practices that Don't Inspire Confidence and Trust**

These practices by Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din's government do not inspire the trust and confidence that, should it be charged with running local and People's Assembly elections, it would do so honestly and impartially.

Rather, its previous actions in past elections, whether during the late President al-Sadat's regime or the by-elections in districts vacated during President Mubarak's regime, confirm that it does not deserve this trust.

If partisan governments in foreign countries with deep-rooted democracy hold elections in which they are defeated by their opponents, our experience in Egypt has confirmed the opposite. Not one partisan government has held elections without resorting to all sorts of ways and means to forge the will of the nation to its advantage. Therefore, we demand a neutral non-partisan government to take over the reigns of power during elections, as was done before the revolution during the multi-political party periods.



If the government does not intend to forge the nation's will, what harm would it do to give the nation and the opposition parties every guarantee in order to emphasize the elections' honesty and impartiality?

But for the Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din government--whose party includes all governors and heads of towns and cities and which has the loyalty of all board chairmen and editors in chief of the so-called national press--to run the elections from the Interior Ministry under bogus judicial supervision where the general committee of the electoral district has only one judge who cannot keep track of what goes on in the sub-committees, to use undemocratic methods to influence voters and create an undemocratic atmosphere, and to refuse to give assurances that the elections will not be fixed in favor of its candidates, this is considered unacceptable.

If necessary guarantees of impartial and neutral elections are not instituted, the opposition is going to leave the way clear for the ruling party to govern alone as an exclusive system, thus reflecting the facts, or to invent a party ready to play the role of a democratic decor, that is, the democratic cover [i.e., facade], which no one, within or outside [the country], is convinced anymore that it actually does exist.

Opposition acceptance of this role is a continuation of the past phase that gave vent to the feelings of the wounded, the oppressed and the tortured. It allows worthless rule to continue and go on with this simulated method which resembles artificial resuscitation administered to a dying body. Either we have true democracy based on free elections with the knowledge of a non-partisan, impartial government, or we refuse to have anything to do with this popular deception called democracy, when democracy has nothing to do with it.

Rather, they are blocking the way of the democratic march, robbing the people of the hope to solve their problems in a calm and legal way, which can only be achieved through the election of true representatives loyal to the people and willing to serve them with sincerity and dedication, and are encouraging the rash and the angry to search for a solution through violence and illegal action.

So, let them have a fear of God in their homes. Let them be wary of dragging the country into a very grave and dangerous situation.

#### Arab World, Shari'ah Discussed

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 9 Aug 83 p 5

[Article: "In Diwan al-Maghanim, al-Wasita, Disturbances by National Party Leaders Contradict President Mubarak's Positions"]

[Text] Last Tuesday evening Eng Ibrahim Shukri met in Diwan al-Maghanim, city of al-Wasita, with a number of SLP leaders and young men. The meeting took the form of a dialogue from the outset.

In reply to a question about the most ideal situation that affords equal opportunities to the parties in the elections, Eng Ibrahim Shukri said: "This can only be through impartial elections which can only be realized through a neutral government."

He added, "If elections are held on an individual basis, the rate of success for the ruling party will be very low; if they are unconditional, then the opposition will achieve great success. Therefore, they restricted the elections to the 8 percent rate."

This Is a Joke!

"The strange thing is that the National Party members in the People's Assembly are the ones who are choosing the method of elections and imposing conditions. They want, after that, to hold elections, and this is unparalleled in the world."

Eng Ibrahim Shukri wondered in surprise, "Do we want a semblance of democracy or do we want true democracy; do the rulers see us as mere accessories to complement an image or do they believe that opposition parties are necessary? I say, if the matter is that of form and image, the upcoming election campaign will be a joke."

About the chances of the government repealing the 8 percent proviso, Eng Ibrahim Shukri said: "This is something I cannot predict, but we must strive for it. First of all, this condition has not been approved by the opposition parties, and if it is not repealed, we will boycott the People's Assembly elections."

He added: "There is no value to any elections that are not guaranteed to be impartial. To say that opposition parties will remain opposed is a misconception. Some people in the government say that our intention is to get to power. Yes, our intention is to get to power, and this is no disgrace. Every party thinks about carrying out its programs, and such programs can only be implemented by being in power after obtaining a majority?"

He explained: "We shall not lose hope. We believe the President Mubarak should leave the National Party and that a neutral government should hold the elections. These are two main conditions that will render the 8 percent proviso an obstacle in the way of the National Party getting to the People's Assembly. Outside these two conditions, there are no obstacles in the way of the opposition parties. The National Party, for example, does not have an ideology deeply implanted in the hearts of the people; the obstacles are of the government's doing."

They Contradict President Mubarak

In answer to a question about the contradiction between what President Mubarak says and what the National Party government does, Eng Ibrahim Shukri said: "The ruling party is causing trouble because it begrudges us a



presence in villages and district centers. They tear up posters, close village stores and prevent the people from getting to SLP headquarters. Naturally, this contradicts what President Mubarak is calling for with regard to preserving democracy.

"The truth is that we must realize that the National Party will not get off its horse and that we must drag it off. This can only be done in accordance with the law and the basic rules; they must understand that. We are committed to the law and to not disturbing law and order. We feel that any self-respecting government must protect each and every citizen; when we violate the law, they can hold us accountable."

#### The Arab-Egyptian Role

Eng Ibrahim Shukri moved on to talk about the Arab position, saying: "There is no alternative to Arab unity if we wish to have weight [i.e., influence] as Arabs. The fact is that the October war was not exploited properly. The October war was a rehearsal for comprehensive Arab unity; and we saw how the petroleum countries participated in it by pumping less oil, and how this simple action shook the whole world. Aden was able to close [the straits of] Bab al-Mandib, thus making Israel feel that holding on to Sharm al-Shaykh was in vain.

"The truth is that if Egypt were to plan its Arab role in the current phase, it would bring about a radical change in the Arab region and would wipe out a lot of existing contradictions. Therefore, Egypt must play its role and must modify its position."

#### Application of the Islamic Shari'ah

Concerning a question about the seriousness of applying the Islamic Shari'ah, Eng Ibrahim Shukri replied: "People's Assembly members are not really serious in debating the Shari'ah law. The fact is there are some matters that can be put into effect to prepare the climate: prohibition of the manufacture of alcohol, a ban on alcoholic sales on Egypt Air flights, a ban on gambling in hotels. The strange thing is that Egypt Air promotes the sale of duty-free scotch.

"Furthermore, if we want to prepare the climate, we must change the gross TV programs and must find an alternative to the interest system followed by the banks."

He went on, saying: "Application of the Shari'ah does not mean the setting of boundaries. The Shariah in Islam is an integrated system. Islam is an integrated system which must be allowed to be applied because it is good for the whole society, from all aspects."

## Values of Egyptians Violated

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 9 Aug 83 p 5

[Article: "He Declares in Atwab: "National Party Leaders Have Violated the Basic Value of the Egyptian People"]

[Text] In the village of Atwab, a seminar attended by a large number of young people was held on Tuesday morning. Eng Ibrahim Shukri spoke there and answered questions about internal and external situations.

In his replies, Eng Ibrahim Shukri criticized the behavior of the NDP members and the security officers from the minute he got to the villages of al-Maymun and Atwab. He explained that, by such behavior, they violated the Egyptian people's basic values of hospitality and generosity for which Egypt is famous. Thus, when National Party members behave that way, they violate the greatest and most important values of the Egyptian people. This gives an impression about the motives that led them to such conduct; bad motives to be sure. They most certainly want to prove to their party leaders that the country is under their control and that no citizen will be allowed to grow out of his infancy, all cheap motives.

He added: "We must tell them that the constitution provides for multiple parties and explain to them that it would be strange not to have parties in every village and views and counterinterviews. But if they only want their party, they are violating the constitution.

"Therefore, young men, you must reaffirm your eagerness to have views and counterinterviews. I ask you: What makes someone my age leave Cairo or Alexandria to come to you in Upper Egypt in the month of August? You know that many people are in summer resorts now. Some are spending the summer in Europe, which seems to be the fad these days.

"Therefore, you must understand that politics is not the monopoly of the National Party when other legitimate parties exist with the same rights. Otherwise, what is the point of the 23 July 1952 Revolution? It is inconceivable to have the ruling party say 31 years after the revolution that this town is under the control of so-and-so and that village is ruled by the family of so-and-so. This is unreasonable and unacceptable."

He added: "We must rectify [the situation] and to do that, we must not let such behavior stop us from doing our job. On the contrary, these types of behavior made me realize how much these villages need our visits in order to explain to the people the true situation."

Eng Shukri then explained the guarantees for impartial elections, saying that the 8 percent rate could lead to the exclusion of many parties, and does, in fact, prevent those parties, who get this rate at the republic level, from having representation in the assembly.

He explained that failure to debate the bill presented by the SLP concerning the impartiality of the elections is clear proof of the intent to falsify the elections!

"Any ideas presented to the people must be fought for and defended. Muhammad's message is a good example because God could have made people believe in our prophet, Muhammad, from the start and could have saved himself much trouble in making him an example of toil and endurance in spreading His call.

#### AL-SHA'B Warns NDP

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 9 Aug 83 p 5

[Editorial: "We Say to the Ruling Party: Beware"]

[Text] The country is now passing through a dangerous phase and is suffering from innumerable internal and external problems: the economic situation is deteriorating; our debts have reached \$22 billion; our problems related to our relations with Israel have not been solved, from Taba to West Bank autonomy, while Israel has achieved its objectives from Camp David, normalization and severance of relations between us and the Arabs, etc; America is aiding and abetting it [Israel] and is also instigating it, which makes it the long arm in the whole region.

All this requires unified efforts and strong cooperation. Is this what the ruling party is doing? I say "No" for sure. What the government is doing is legalizing restrictions on freedoms and elections, suppressing opposition parties' meetings, and harrassing and assaulting Eng Ibrahim Shukri and his colleagues in al-Qantarah Sharq and Ismailia. This does not bode well and is unacceptable by any standards, criteria or standpoints. Therefore, the SLP and the other opposition parties may be forced to resort to self-defense in order to secure these freedoms and exercise them in their meetings and movements.

The ruling party's actions do not reveal a sense of and an appreciation for responsibility. Suffice it to say, those who are legislating for it are some appointed minister with no past history of struggle, Jihad or stances, with regard to any political or public issue. For such persons to reign over the country's destiny in such grave circumstances, and to think that this is the way to stay in power, bending rules unanimously approved by the free democratic world--on grounds that those countries and those peoples have not attained the same degree of awareness and political maturity--is a disaster.

We have warned many times against the bad consequences of such action, and still do. We are afraid that they may turn a deaf ear, just as their predecessor had done with clearly damaging results. We would not be that concerned if the damage were confined to them, but it goes beyond that--they have nothing to lose because they were never involved in any efforts, endeavors to sacrifice--to include the whole country. We pray to God that Egypt will be spared this sort of mishap.

The ruling party is playing with fire, and as the saying goes: "Fire is made bigger by the one who makes light of the sparks." If party leaders still have any wisdom or brains, let them learn a lesson from the past, for prudent is he who takes advice and learns.

We said and wrote much before the revolution. Some took it as mere talk; but it was a sincere expression of Egypt's pulse and our people's feelings. When they turned a deaf ear, the revolution took place. They vanished but Egypt survived; we survived and the truth survived.

When we had a chance after the formation of parties, we said and wrote particularly about the emergency laws, but they turned a deaf ear, thinking that they can do anything. The result was al-Sadat's violent death.

Today, we are writing, cautioning and warning. We ask the ruling party members to obey the law and to heed God in their actions. We ask them to be positively aware that the free and proud people of Egypt do not accept any restrictions on their freedom, manipulation of their opinions or falsification of their will in elections, catering to the wishes of the ruling party. This is the way Egypt, as a whole, feels, and the only salvation for the people is true freedom and sound democracy.

We say all this today, as we had done yesterday, as an example and a lesson for them, for us, and for Egypt as a whole.

Alexander the Great once said in comparing his foes and friends: "I learned more from my foes than from my friends because my foes used to reproach me and point out my failings, thus enabling me to redress my mistakes. But, my friends used to encourage and extol my mistakes. So, God protect me from my friends."

Mubarak Must Leave NDP

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 9 Aug 83 p 4

[Article: "In Abu Sir al-Malaq: Let President Mubarak Give up the National Party Leadership"]

[Text] In the village of Abu Sir al-Malaq, Eng Ibrahim Shukri met with a group of village men and young people to talk to them and hear what they had to say. He started off by expressing how happy he was to visit this village, explaining that he wished he could visit all the villages of Egypt. Then he began to reply to the inquiries of his audience.

About the upcoming elections, Eng Ibrahim Shukri gave a detailed explanation of the difference between individual elections and elections by slates, and how the SLP did not ask for party slates, but only slates so that the independents would have a chance to organize themselves in slates. He also reviewed the damage of imposing the 8 percent condition as an obstacle before the parties.

He also explained the absolute slate system to be applied to local and Shura Council elections and how it can lead to a single viewpoint and a single party, by admission of Dr Kamal Layla himself in his preamble to the People's Assembly elections law, and explained how "the opposition party decided to boycott this election which is unparalleled in the whole universe."

About the parties' law and its role in banning the establishment of political parties, Eng Ibrahim Shukri explained how the court "disapproved the establishment of the Front Party headed by Justice Mumtaz Nassar because there is a provision in the law that prohibits the establishment of parties that include individuals who opposed the Camp David Agreements. This provision is also unparalleled in the entire world!"

He added, saying: "On the other hand, we see a lady in Israel tearing up the agreement into shreds and throwing it in Begin's and Carter's faces. We did not hear that she was kicked out of the Knesset or that anything ever happened to her!"

Concerning the opinion of the SLP on the president heading the National Party and the danger this poses for democracy, Eng Ibrahim Shukri said: "The SLP's opinion is that the president must resign from the National Party immediately because many a time the president's name is thrust into trivial actions such as the incidents in the Bani Suwayf district capital where ruling party members tore up the posters and drummed up a charge against the Labor Party secretary, when the matter was reported to the police, that he was reviling the president."

He went on to say: "These lowly attitudes and the such is like having ruling party members stand up and say to the people 'do you oppose President Mubarak, do you turn your back on the party headed by President Mubarak to elect or join the party that opposes him?' All these petty behaviors make us cling more to the notion that President Mubarak must leave the party's chairmanship and be satisfied with the presidency so that he may be an arbitrator among the parties."

In reply to the question about the most important thing the SLP is calling for, Eng Ibrahim Shukri said: "We are calling for work; there is no such thing as important work and unimportant work." He criticized those who sit at their desks with nothing to do, saying that their income is illicit while those who work in the fields make a more honest living than those behind desks. He also explained that good character is the foundation of civilized societies and that young people must know that adherence to religion is the foundation of the moral and righteous society the SLP is calling for in its program.

Shukri in Bani Suwayf

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 9 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by 'Atif Husayn and 'Amr Tawfiq: "Bani Suwayf Youth Says to Ibrahim Shukri: We Joined the Labor Party and Were Forced to Resign. But We Are With you in Hearts and Votes, So Don't Be Sad"]

[Text] The crowds of Bani Suwayf masses and youth at the Nile Secondary School, who came despite the blockade around the conference site set up by police cars and attempts by People's Assembly members and ruling party leaders to terrorize and intimidate the crowds, opposition leader and SLP leader Eng Ibrahim Shukri stood to say: "Young people, rather, you free people, I know that each one of you who has come here represents, in my view, one thousand men. I know that many of you came here defying many. I don't need proof; I have proof. The Labor Party committee in the district capital of Bani Suwayf has been formed and the committee secretary could have been here talking to you. I asked about him and was told that they had gone to him and pressured him. Like any human being who has interests to protect, he finally gave in."

#### A Scene Everywhere

He went on to say: "This is the scene that has been repeated everywhere I have been."

Eng Ibrahim Shukri held up some papers that had been presented to him and bellowed: "Half of these papers presented to me are from the local youth. They say, 'We joined you but the forced us to resign. We hope that you will not be sad over the resignation because we are with you in heart.' Thus, we see the [feudal] lord who is ruling Bani Suwayf from behind the scenes: the lord of power, money and influence. I have witnessed scenes I have never seen in any other governorate. I feel as though Bani Suwayf has a special structure to the extent that a large portion of the police service is from families that rule Bani Suwayf. The chairman of the parliamentary apparatus of the National Party in Bani Suwayf has a brother here who is the Bani Suwayf [police] commissioner. We also find that the brother of the People's Assembly representative of al-Maymun village is the assistant chief of police. He goes to al-Maymun to oversee the closing of stores and make sure that no one receives Ibrahim Shukri."

#### Do They Want a Revolution?

He went on to say: "Is magnanimity finished? It has gotten to the point that my colleagues, a member of the farmers union and a previous subordinate, closed the door of the farm workers union in the face of the former union chief and the former minister of agriculture.

"This happened when Sa'd 'Abduh went to him, asking him to prepare a meal for the opposition leader and some of his companions. The reply was orders issued to him by the director of the agricultural sector not to do that. It has come to this. Are we living in the "Jahiliyah" [pre-Islamic times, i.e., period of ignorance] or are we in the age called the age of democracy? Do they want a new revolution? We want democracy, an opinion for an opinion and a party for a party. Rule must be by the people."

He went on: "They went in their fun-making so far as to say that I only went into the homes of the poor and the lowly. Yes, I went into homes with palm leaf roofs and ate simple food, and I felt very happy. I felt happier



that, after all these years, I was not recognized as a friend of the powerful, of the upper crust whose hands, I know, are stained with the blood of this people. It is a gang spread from the village to Cairo, and we know its members. The day shall come when they will be put on trial, with God's help, and this day is not far off because these people. They are making fun of the majority of this people.

### Legalizing Injustice!

"Unfortunately, they have legalized injustice. They are trying to impose their dominion by the law, and if that does not help, they look for other ways. I have seen a prosecutor head the youth center in al-Maymun. How can that be when we know that prosecution personnel and judges must avoid things like that. But this prosecutor wanted to complete the family that is ruling the village."

He added: "They want to tell the people that the 23 July 1952 revolution, which we celebrated last month, has been taken over by us, that this revolution is over; that neo-colonialism is here after the revolution had done away with the old colonialism. Thus, we see that things are coming back and they have to be corrected and rectified. But this time, we want the correction to be legal."

Eng Ibrahim Shukri wondered, "Do you want a true democracy or do you want a semblance of democracy? Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din and his government are cooking up the election law, just as they cook up all the laws that allow them to keep their seats! They know that if they were to run for the elections individually, they would not win because the people know them for what they are. This assembly, that has enacted emergency laws, has applauded the 5 September resolutions, has passed the law dissolving the legitimate Bar Association, and has stripped deputy al-Sharif Ahmad Farghali of his membership, can it, after all these crimes it has committed against the people, be re-elected by the people? They wanted to get around this, so they contrived the slate system, without debating the issue with the people. Instead of consulting the people, they called a meeting of the parliamentary body of the ruling party, which stands to benefit from these slates, and the parliamentary body approved it unanimously. They imposed enough conditions and guarantees to ensure success.

"The most important characteristic of the elections based on proportional representation is that they do not waste votes. But, they wanted to destroy them and to void them of their content by imposing the 8 percent condition!"

### The Three-Card Game

Eng Ibrahim Shukri explained in his speech the three-card game which the ruling party wanted to play. It goes like this: A party may get 8 percent but may not, at the same time, get one single seat in the Assembly. He explained that districts have been divided to include 2, 4, 6 or 10 members. This means that the one who gets a seat in the district with 2 members must get 50 percent [of the vote]; in districts with 4 seats, 25 percent, and so on, until we get to the large districts where one must get 10 percent; all these percentages are above 8 percent.

Therefore, the game is clear. If we imagine that a party got 8 percent in all the districts, it could not get a single seat in all these districts!

After this, Eng Ibrahim Shukri wondered, "Is it true that parties have been given a full chance to spread from one end of the country to the other; or, is it that there are those who are telling us that we are considered out-laws, after which all opposition leaders were put "on the floor" at Liman Turrah [Penitentiary] and their newspapers confiscated? Is this the opportunity that has been granted to the parties?"

Eng Ibrahim Shukri reviewed a number of incidents that occurred in al-Maymun and Atwab, explaining how some National Party members stood outside the home of Husayn al-Nuwayshi, party secretary in al-Maymun, writing down the names of all those entering the house or inside the party headquarters in an attempt to terrorize the local population. He also explained how one of the young al-Maymun residents was informed that his father was waiting for him [only] to find out later that ruling party members had pressured his father to pull him out of the seminar. He explained that the same thing happened at the mosque in al-'Amah village where he was talking with the young people about combatting rats and listening to their problems caused by the water shortage, when all of a sudden, a young party committee member was summoned outside the mosque where he found his father, who had been called from the field, waiting to take him away!

He wondered aloud, "These are the equal opportunities?!"

#### Belonging Is Justice

Eng Ibrahim Shukri moved on to talk about the issue of belonging. He said: "The belonging that President Mubarak is calling for cannot be found in TV programs. This kind of belonging cannot be sold in stores. This belonging can be felt by the citizens only if they can feel justice and right, and can feel that there is a true reform program in progress; if the people can feel that there is a radical change going on, unrelated to the investigations of corruption. How can the ministers stay on after being indicted in the Court of Ethics?" He said that this does not happen in civilized countries where the minister of transportation immediately resigns because of a train accident. Here in Egypt, the minister stays in his cozy seat despite all the train accidents.

Eng Ibrahim Shukri related the complaint of a citizen that third class trains do not have water or toilets and that ladies have to sit between two cars to go to the bathroom. He wondered, painfully: "How can this happen at a time when man has gone to the moon? Is this how human beings are treated? How can we ask these people, after all this, to belong? A radical change is needed."

He went on: "How can people like Sufi Abu Talib, Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim and Ahmad Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, who wrapped themselves around al-Sadat and got him to adopt the September [1981] resolutions, considering them a revolution, remain in their seats? Could it be that these people want to give President Mubarak



sincere counsel, or do they want to lure him to their trench to defend their losing causes which are illegal and unconstitutional?"

In conclusion, Eng Ibrahim Shukri explained the guarantees that ensure the elections' neutrality, from setting up a neutral government to holding the elections and creating a judicial body to oversee them, to the voters putting their signature next to their names on the voters lists, to showing a personal or family ID to enter the polls, to removing names of the deceased from the lists, and so on. He added, "We are going to tour the governorates until April and our decision to run for or boycott the elections will emanate from the people."

#### Change Is Decided by the People

Mamduh Qinawi, executive committee member and party secretary in Sawhaj, said: "The lights are on all over Bani Suwayf except this street, where the conference is being held. They want to force on us the democracy of cages which is only acceptable to poultry; and we will never be a poultry people."

He wondered, "Will the people of Egypt revert to the state of unconsciousness and to the delusions of the 5-year plan, or are they nominated to take their reins into their own hands, after having struggled and revolted; are they to get rid of foreign colonialism only to fall under domestic colonialism?"

"The Egyptian national movement believes that it is time that the issue of change no longer be a national issue determined by the rulers, but rather one that must be decided by the people through elections. The struggle is not a struggle of offices and hallways but one amidst the people.

"The parties are now facing a choice: to run or not to run for the elections. Does the public interest require us not to leave the arena and support the Egyptian street, or does it demand that we not participate in this face in the state in the form of no substance?

#### They Imposed a Curfew

"Everything in Egypt now has a wider gap between form and substance." He went on to say: "If we were to look at a newspaper published a year ago or 5 years ago, we would find that headlines are headlines and promises are promises, and nothing [yet] has been realized for the people."

He added: "We came to Bani Suwayf, carrying not arms but open hearts to hold an open dialogue with our masses on the issues of the hour. But although the president declared that he welcomed the opposition to the Egyptian street, we came to Bani Suwayf to witness an extension of the al-Qantarrah and Ismalia incidents, an extension of the Ottoman State influence. They want to feel that there is a public boycott of Ibrahim Shukri. They force people to close the stores. They impose day curfews in some villages."

He went on: "The Egyptian constitution provides for multiple parties and not a single organization. Who is being petty?" National Party officials steal convention posters and are caught redhanded!

"The greatest danger to President Mubarak comes from petty National Party members. I told the security men that it is the [opposition] parties' movement that provides real security for the country."

#### We Must Resist Injustice

Sa'd 'Abbud 'Abd-al-Wahid, Bani Suwayf committee secretary, said: "I will say one sentence about Ibrahim Shukri: He lived his youth with the dignity of the elderly and is living his old age with the vitality of youth." He went on: "Bani Suwayf, like Ismailia, is a kingdom for the elite because they are two governorates ruled by men whose history is well-known." He added, "Life depends on equilibrium because it is the cause of being. When a group takes off without anyone putting it in check, it will destroy everything. Therefore, there has to be an opposition."

He emphasized how God sent prophets and messengers to oppose, but he did not send them with a majority.

"We must resist injustice because if we do not, it will backfire on us. When the prophet got the majority to follow him, you saw how he ruled.

"I was passing through al-Islam Street last year and I saw five tents. I passed yesterday and saw 50 tents, in addition to 200 other people. I will not raise the matter with the governor and will not raise it with Prime Minister Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din who is promising to falsify the elections and is asking for a 100 percent consensus.

"I took a family of 13 to the governor, but he said he did not have any apartments. Yet, he pressured an SLP member to resign and, when he did, he rewarded him with an apartment. When thinking of the people, Mr President, you must remember what "Umar Ibn al-Khattab used to do. You must, Mr President, protect homeless children and honor being violated in the streets. Therefore, I direct my words to President Mubarak and not to Ahmad Fu'ad and not to the governor."

He added: "Practices must be democratic, with no pressures and no hoodlums. As long as we are content with democracy now, we must have impartial elections."

#### Terrorizing the Citizens!

Muhammad 'Atwab, secretary of the 'Atwab committee, al-Wasita District, said that there was intervention by People's Assembly members in 'Atwab. He then welcomed the opposition leader and the SLP leadership.

Husayn al-Nuwayshi, secretary of al-Maymun committee, al-Wasita District, welcomed Eng Ibrahim Shukri and the party leaders, saying that we must not fear anyone but God because He is the provider, and that he who does not speak up for right is a mute devil.

In his speech, he called upon every citizen to change reprehensible actions personally, and he reviewed a number of incidents that swept al-Qantarah Sharq, Ismailia and Bani Suwayf. He explained that this matter urges us to effect change, a fighting battle which will be resisted by the beneficiaries of Sadatism!

"We need a group for national salvation to organize the ranks of the masses and to work for change."

He explained: "There is a royal family in al-Maymun that controls the village and they all benefit [from that]. When Eng Ibrahim Shukri came to the village, they began writing down the names of all those who went inside party headquarters to give to State Security Investigations!"

He went on to say that "the people need a model. We want Mubarak to be the protector of democracy."

Zaki Sha'rawi, secretary of al-Fashn committee, Bani Suwayf Governorate, welcomed the party leaders and invited Eng Ibrahim Shukri to attend the popular conference in al-Fashn on Monday, 8 August.

Then, Sha'ban Sayyid al-Shimi, secretary of al-Da'wah, al-Wasita committee, said that the tour that the party chief began in al-Wasita, was successful.

He added, "We are a people who have been robbed of our political consciousness to a degree that a second year student at the school of business came to me, asking about the Labor Party which he had never heard about. Naturally, the TV and the national press only talk about the National Party.

He reviewed what happened when he was trying to go from al-Gizah to Bani Suwayf to attend a conference and there was a huge traffic jam but not a single security man to direct traffic..

Muhammad 'Abd-al-'Aziz, Baba committee assistant secretary, said that Bani Suwayf has men and honorable people capable of effecting change. He added that "we must look at the countries of the advanced world and ask ourselves how they advanced and developed. They advanced by democracy, which is the path to production. We want freedom of expression now that we are at the doors of the elections. We want a guarantee for impartiality of these elections. Otherwise, why demand democracy." He said: "We pledge to you, leader of the opposition, that we shall complete the walk" [i.e. go all the way].

#### Shukri's Visit to al-Maymun

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 9 Aug 83 p 6

[Article: "Visit to al-Maymun Home of Mustafa al-Wakil Despite the Curfew Imposed on its Residents"]

[Text] The first visit of opposition leader and SLP chief was to al-Maymun, birthplace of martyr Dr Mustafa al-Wakil, where he opened the SLP committee

headquarters and met with young people twice, once at 1 pm and another time, at 10:30 pm. He said:

"I began my tour of Bani Suwayf Governorate at the village of al-Maymun with a view to drawing attention to martyr Dr Mustafa al-Wakill who was born in al-Maymun, graduated from al-Maymun Elementary School, and studied in Bani Suwayf [one line garbled].

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Mustafa al-Wakil represents a unique example of patriotism, piety and education. He combined many attributes and capabilities seldom found in any one person, and was a great example of sacrifice and devotion to duty. He gave limitlessly to Egypt and to Islam, and was an excellent model for Egypt in the Arab countries, and Europe as well, when he went there during the war."

He went on, "Considering the bad scenes of greed and avidity we are presently witnessing, it is so beautiful for young people to see the picture of Mustafa al-Wakil in order to realize that there have always been men in Egypt's history who have done their duty toward their country."

They Did not Understand the Reasons for the Visit

He added: "I have noticed that a lot of al-Maymun residents were not aware of the reason for the visit. Some thought I came here to promote the Labor Party or to weaken the position of the National Party. What they did not understand is that more important than any party is setting the hopes of the entire society on great ideals for which we can all compete to achieve."

After this short speech, Eng Ibrahim Shukri opened the door of dialogue. On the question concerning the new election law proposed by Sayyid Muhammad Mustafa, Eng Shukri explained the concept by saying that "the system of election by slates is a development brought about by the existence of parties. Its basic idea is to get people to rally around party programs as an alternative to rallying around individuals. The fundamental point of the slate system is the proportion because it is the most equitable way. When they proposed the law in Egypt, however, they put the 8 percent obstacle which simply means that any party that does not obtain 36 seats cannot enter the Assembly. Therefore, we are demanding the repeal of this proportion because it hamstring the other parties."

The the party leader reviewed election by absolute slates, explaining that "it combined the flaws of proportional slate elections and those of individual elections. This method is considered most unjust; hence, the parties boycott of it. The strange thing is that they tacked on the absolute slate a provision that if other parties did not submit any slates, the National Party will win unopposed."

In reply to a question by Muhammad Fathi Hamidah about parties supporting their candidates, Eng Ibrahim Shukri said that, under the slate system, the burden placed on the parties is double the burden of individual elections.

#### All Capabilities at Their Disposal

He went on to say: "There are no equal opportunities. To begin with, the National Party is the one in the seat of power, headed by the president of the republic and has in its membership the prime minister, the ministers, the governors, the city and town mayors. TV and radio stations and the national press are under its control. All the capabilities of the Socialist Union are at its disposal, while the other parties do not have such capabilities. Therefore, we say to them, 'Aren't you satisfied with all this, do you have to place obstacles such as the 8 percent, the absolute slate, and so on?'

"Therefore, the SLP is demanding guarantees for impartial elections: from a neutral cabinet to judicial supervision of the elections, to voters' signatures next to their names on the lists, to cleaning up the lists by removing the names of the deceased and the ineligible in accordance with the civil statistics register. Another guarantee is the use of a personal or family ID to enter the polls.

#### President Mubarak's Position

In reply to a question by Rabi' 'Abd-al-Tawwab about President Mubarak's position on the electoral process, Eng Ibrahim Shukri replied that "President Mubarak has believed in the importance of the other viewpoint ever since the first day he took over the rule. He released the prisoners and met and talked with them. He listened to the parties' points of view concerning the election law and the opposition parties' belief that Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din's insistence on the 8 percent proportion in People's Assembly elections and on absolute slates in local and Shura Council elections means that he does not want democracy. President Mubarak explained that he adheres to democracy, but we believe that this adherence must be translated into practical steps. My meeting with President Mubarak was an attempt to reassure the opposition that the elections will be impartial."

Replying to a member's question about the way to confront the National Party action in al-Maymun, aimed at terrorizing the citizens in order to stop them from joining the SLP, Eng Ibrahim Shukri said: "This is bankruptcy on the part of the ruling party. We must cleanse society of these tendencies. The constitution is based on multiple parties, rather than a one-party system. We did not come here to remove anyone from his seat [of power].

"A trip here to Upper Egypt in the heat of August is very strenuous for a man my age. Others are at summer resorts, but we have been talking here from the start about some good ideas."

## Every Citizen Has a Job

In reply to a member's question to the effect that, while he was enroute to party headquarters, he was stopped and questioned by a secret policeman, Eng Ibrahim Shukri said: "Every citizen has his job to do. Secret police have the job of following up these parties' activities. This is their work. But deviations by the security agency when it tries to stop you from practicing your party activities or when it asks you where you are going, this is terrorism and intimidation of the citizenry."

Another member from the al-Maymun committee said that the police in al-Maymun are interfering in opposition parties' business and trying to control them. Eng Ibrahim Shukri followed up by saying: "These conditions can be rectified by practice. We can say this: 'Those of you who wish to protect the people and have a society of love and exchange of views, stop this kind of intervention in the business of the parties.' Everyone must know that the regime is based on a multi-party system, and if we want democracy, no one should complain about criticism."

## Popular Supervision

In reply to a question by Hasan 'Abd-al-Basit about the SLP's role in popular supervision of cooperatives and food rationing, Eng Ibrahim Shukri said: Such popular supervision must be national, not partisan, in the sense that it is confined to the National Party exclusively. It would be much better to have supervision by various parties."

## Al-Maymun Youth Foil Attempts of National Party Deputy

Husayn al-Nuwayshi, SLP committee secretary in al-Maymun, said that People's Assembly member Ahmad Abu Zayd al-Wakil of the NDP cooked up a plan to prevent al-Maymun masses from attending the opening of the committee headquarters.

Al-Maymun young men, however, insisted on exposing the attempt and on meeting with Eng Ibrahim Shukri at 11 o'clock and selecting, in the evening a neutral government sensitive to the nation. The meeting lasted until 1 am.

## Murad Outlines Elections Demands

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 9 Aug 83 p 7

[Article by Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad: "Are We To Believe President Mubarak's Statements and Disregard Partisan Hooliganism and Local Governments' Deviations?"]

[Text] President Husni Mubarak, who holds the executive power, in accordance with Article 137 of the constitution in his capacity as president of the republic, and at the same time, is the leader of the National Democratic Party, which controls the overwhelming majority in the People's Assembly and to which the present government belongs, reaffirmed in his meetings with the three opposition political parties that the elections will take place with

complete honesty and impartiality; that he was happy to see the opposition parties represented in the People's Assembly; and that the political parties should go to the street to face the masses and offer solutions to their problems.

Nonetheless, we see in these reassuring statements many things that raise fear and doubt, and requires legislative and procedural guarantees to put our minds at ease.

#### 1 - How To Amend the People's Assembly Law

The hasty way in which the People's Assembly considered the proposal to amend the People's Assembly law, while blocking the proposal submitted by opposition leader Eng Ibrahim Shukri for closing the gaps in the regulation of the electoral process through a law concerning the exercise of political rights and the institution of guarantees for impartial elections, suggests, without the shadow of a doubt, that the overwhelming majority in the People's Assembly and the legislative committee, that expresses the viewpoint of the ruling party and its government, do not want to institute any of the requested guarantees for honest and impartial elections. They do not even want to submit the opposition leader's proposal for debate, along with the bill to which it is tied, despite their confidence that the power of approval or rejection is totally in their hands.

If the intention is to hold honest and impartial elections, then what harm would it do the ruling National Party and its government to give preliminary guarantees, that no two persons can differ on, for the holding of elections with the required honesty and impartiality? Moreover, it has been noted that the combination of subdivisions and precincts to form electoral districts in some governorates was being carried out and modified to suit the purposes of some ruling party leaderships, or to please some prospective candidates, or keep some elements they do not trust out of their districts. This does not inspire trust and reassurance about things to come.

#### 2 - Dubious and Inadequate Statements by the Prime Minister

In addition to President Mubarak's statements reassuring the opposition, Prime Minister Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din comes out with sensational statements such as his statement in the People's Assembly to the effect that adoption of the proportional slates system, as mentioned in the proposal put before the Assembly, is an opposition demand that makes the government wonder how it can satisfy the opposition! It is like saying "Do not come to prayer" without adding "while you are drunk" because the opposition's approval of the party slates with proportional party representation in the People's Assembly was made conditional on many things: a sound democratic climate, including the freedom to form parties; the institution of guarantees for impartial and honest elections, including supervision by an independent judicial body; the presence of a neutral non-partisan government during elections; and the non-imposition of a condition that does away with the experiment of voting through party representation based on the number of votes in free elections. It is a condition that parties obtain 8 percent of the total votes in the republic before



their candidates can win in any of the districts. This permits this condition to be used as a means of manipulating election results. This statement demonstrates his disregard for opposition demands concerning the honesty of elections, and let us not forget his statements in the press asking for a popular consensus, which is totally unprecedented!

### 3 - Election of Local Councils by Absolute Slates

Voters had asked for local councils' elections 5 months before they were due on the basis of the amendment instituted during the al-Sadat regime, which will be applied for the first time through absolute party slates that were opposed by all intellectual and thinking people in the country and boycotted by legal political parties without waiting for the People's Assembly opinion on this.

Since the People's Assembly decided to adopt proportional slates for its elections, discarding the absolute slates, it was necessary to issue a decree providing for the reinstatement of the old election system for local councils. It is the system that the SLP's supreme committee had called for during its recent meeting on 30 July 1983 in order to avoid any conflict and to prevent the ruling party from single-handedly appointing local council members after the other parties boycotted their [i.e., the councils] elections. This is contradictory to democracy, on the one hand, and affects People's Assembly elections, on the other.

### 4 - Hooliganism of Some Ruling Party Members

This political hooliganism by some of the ruling National Party members manifested itself, with the guidance of some party leaders, in al-Qantarah Sharq and Ismailia when they tried to stop the Labor Party leader and his companions from entering the city of al-Qantarah Sharq to open a party committee headquarters there. [They did this] by building a stone barricade, throwing bricks, and using sticks to threaten people with death if they went in. This operation, unfortunately, was led by the secretary of the ruling party, despite the fact that the police, who witnessed the whole affair, had been notified. To add insult to injury, Mr Mamduh Qinawi, the lawyer who accompanied the Labor Party leader, had a drummed-up charge brought against him, accusing him of assault and battery and of breaking the arm of the assailant. But the Ismailia public prosecutor's office released him without bond after questioning.

About the meeting in Ismailia, which was called for the same evening at a Suez Canal Authority club--because party meetings must be held in closed places, according to the new instructions--we mentioned in the last edition [of AL-SHA'B] the attempts that were undertaken to thwart it by cutting off the power and creating boycotts and troubles, all that under the protection of the police who have adopted a negative stand so as to enable the hoodlums, bullies and trouble-markers to carry out their plan.



President Mubarak and Dr Muhyi-al-Din, when Eng Ibrahim Shukri informed them the following day of what had happened, did in fact express their dismay, but what happened in al-Qantarah Sharq and Ismailia was repeated in another form in Bani Suwayf last Thursday in a popular meeting called by the Labor Party. Here we would like to pause a bit before a paragraph contained in the article written the same day by the editor in chief of AL-MUSAWWAR magazine, a publication that is supposed to be part of the national press. It said: "What we fear most is not losing the guarantees [for the impartiality and honesty of the upcoming elections] which will be fulfilled, to be sure, but that some party from the majority or the opposition will seek to undermine the elections by resorting to coercive or disruptive methods to spoil the conventions of rival parties, that ugly picture which is still in our mind. Therefore, a scrupulous investigation must be conducted about the surrounding circumstances that led to the events during the Labor Party convention in Ismailia 10 days ago. I would have thought that such an investigation was going on right now within a framework of complete neutrality, and I would have thought that its outcome would be the subject of a good lesson so that it would not be repeated. We have not noticed, however, any trace of an investigation or a useful lesson. We do not want to join those who are saying that a People's Assembly member in Bani Suwayf (accountant 'Abbas Safi-al-Din), an 'Arab Contractor' company high official, is thought to be the mastermind of the trouble-making campaign in Bani Suwayf as an extension of the al-Qantarah Sharq and Ismailia campaign! Otherwise, we would be on the verge of having a state within a state, and the government would not only be incapable of solving people's problems, but incapable of protecting a public meeting and of requiring a band of its party members to respect the law as well. Or perhaps it is a matter of role-casting within the NDP or that Prime Minister Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din announces and proclaims officially, in the name of the government, the exact opposite of what he is actually harboring and planning in the party's name."

##### 5 - Bias of Local Government Agencies

Finally, we have clearly noticed that all local executive agencies have become partisan apparatuses belonging to the ruling National Party. The governors are from the ruling party, also the village and city mayors. They are depended upon to see to the people's needs and they have a direct influence on the population.

Hence, the police cannot be relied upon any more to falsify the elections and influence voters. This task has been assigned to the elections administration in the Interior Ministry--that is why the opposition parties are demanding that a judicial body undertake this operation--and to local government agencies who have influence on everyday affairs. Therefore, the opposition parties demand that the government providing guidance to local government agencies during the elections be a neutral non-partisan government.

The governors and the city mayors, or most of them, are now meddling either directly or through their subordinates and agencies in harrassing the partisans [followers] of the opposition parties and making things easy for ruling party partisans, and in besieging opposition party activities and standing in the way of opposition parties' contacts with the people, such as obstructing the setting up of party headquarters or holding meetings in popular

gathering places, or resorting to pressure and intimidation tactics to keep the masses from rallying around the opposition parties.

If this is already going on prior to the election, it does not bode well nor does it provide much hope for honest and impartial elections, unless things are taken seriously and legal guarantees are instituted. Reassuring statements by President Mubarak are not enough. We believe that the statement and what is actually being done are a world apart. What is really required, regardless of confidence in some individuals, is guarantees for honest elections.

We find no better testimony to the need for instituting guarantees being requested by opposition parties for the honesty and impartiality of the upcoming elections, and not just relying on oral promises by officials, than what Mr Makram Muhammad Ahmad, editor in chief of AL-MUSAWWAR magazine, wrote in last week's edition--he is not a party man and, as far as we know, there is no misunderstanding between him and Prime Minister Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din. On the contrary, he advertised his magazine in the ruling party's youth meeting, asking them to read it because it is very educational. He wrote:

"Undoubtedly, we are with those who want the upcoming elections to be the end of a long history of flagrant Egyptian administration intervention in falsifying the will of the voters, not because the coming elections will be a test, watched by all, for new state slogans calling for clean and pure political action; and not because the coming elections will burden Mubarak's name with more than any other name and will not relieve him of the responsibility before the Egyptian masses, who see in him the epitome of honesty, clarity of purpose and straight-forwardness, for events being repeated along the line of those that occurred in the 1979 general elections and during the many referendums when committee doors were closed in the middle of the day because all voters, the living and the dead, the residents and emigrants, and the registered and the unregistered, had made it early.

"All that represents a pressing reason for us to believe in the necessity of impartial elections." AL-MUSAWWAR went on to say, "because the most serious reason for impartiality is to assure the citizens that today is not yesterday and that yesterday can not be repeated, and that there are those who respect their will and their right to have a vote. This will be sure to bring back the longlost bridges between the state and the individual, and to give citizens a great sense of the importance of their role and participation. The most serious Egyptian ill is that feeling of apathy that has engulfed the people."

He said in conclusion: "I hasten to say that the upcoming elections must have guarantees represented in specific measures that rise above individuals, no matter how trusted they may be.

"In fact, the opposition is raising an objective demand by believing that voter lists and vital statistics lists must necessarily coincide. The time has come for the dead to stop casting their ballots at the polls.

"We also see in the opposition's demand that a personal ID must be shown by every voter at the polls an objective requirements especially as concerns the male vote. There may be a lot of feasibility problems with regards to the female vote, especially in Upper Egypt and in rural areas.

"This objection, in our view, is out of place because once women leave their homes to vote, there is nothing to prevent them from getting ID's."

The editor in chief of AL-MUSAWWAR added: "We see in the demand presently raised by the opposition concerning the need to have full judicial supervision over the electoral process, from the main electoral committees in the governorates to precinct and district committees, a sound request, especially if the elections are going to take place under the patronage of the National Party government.

"The election demands of the Labor Party are unanimous."

I cannot end any article before replying to what was said in the preface of the AL-MUSAWWAR article about the Labor Party's hesitation to run for the elections and that the rate of 8 percent of the total votes can easily be obtained because it obtained more in the 1979 elections. The fact is that there is no hesitation but rather a commitment not to run for the elections unless freedom and neutrality can be guaranteed so that this rate will not be manipulated in the outcome. Hence, we welcome what Mr Makram Muhammad Ahmad had to say in his article about guarantees for honest elections.

To emphasize the absence of severe pressures from within the Labor Party, we reiterate here the demands put forth in the party's unanimous supreme committee resolutions that proves the absence of either rigid or lenient elements. They are:

- 1 - Institution of guarantees for impartial elections in accordance with the draft bill submitted by Eng Ibrahim Shukri to the People's Assembly concerning the amendment of the law governing the exercise of political rights.
- 2 - A neutral non-partisan government must take the reigns of power during the elections.
- 3 - Absolute party slates in local council elections must be abolished and the previous law re-enacted because of the great influence these elections have in the People's Assembly elections.

#### Opposition Boycott Crucial Issue

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 16 Aug 83 p 11

[Article by Mamduh Qinawi, SLP executive committee member and SLP secretary in Sawhaj: "Peoples Never Die, and the People of Egypt Never Die"]

[Text] What I am writing now to send to AL-SHA'B newspaper is a message from the "front" being dispatched from various locations in precious Egypt: from

its Asian port and its villages, hamlets, farms and cities. It is, if you will, impressions meant not so much to analyze as to portray some bitter scenes and some honorable scenes, with colors and shades blended together, deeply engraved in my soul amidst what may be called the great comedy of the democratic march which the prime minister himself still stresses as the sole future option before the Egyptian people.

Observers already know that the SLP, under the leadership of Eng Ibrahim Shukri, has already embarked, within the last 4 months, upon a wide-ranging party movement among the Egyptian masses--starting with popular conferences held in the two governorates of Sawhaj and Asyut last April, and followed by other governorates in Upper Egypt, the Delta, and the Canal Zone before, during and after the month of Ramadan--persistently and patiently aimed at intensifying the party's political action and moving such action from offices and hallways to the streets of Egypt, the wide and the narrow of them alike, in order to create what may be truly called "the political street."

Observers also know that the government of Ahmad Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din has followed this legitimate movement of the Socialist Labor Party with great concern and which has compelled it to effect two things: "application" and "restriction." The "application" is to undertake official visits to towns where Ibrahim Shukri had already held popular conferences. Such visits are permeated with conferences in the name of the ruling party, crowded with local council members and executive leaders, amidst strict security measures, as adopted during the coincidental visit of the secretary general, the prime minister, to the city of Asyut, following on the heels of Ibrahim Shukri's conference there.

As for "restriction," it is something that Egypt has never witnessed all throughout its contemporary political life. We mean what Shaykh Fathi Radwan called the tactic of "democracy of cages" which is acceptable only to poultry. According to this tactic, the party government has equated the requirements of the food security plan with those of political security, whereby the Interior Ministry has recently insisted on banning the holding of partisan public meetings in open pavilions in squares or streets, allowing them to be held [only] in closed and fenced-in places. These new instructions coincided with the beginning of summer when the world, including Europe itself, was under an unusual heat wave. Crowding conferences into closed places was a kind of attempt to make the citizens' blood boil, causing them to stick closely inside these closed rings, isolated from the coolness of Egyptian streets and providing them with warmth much needed in the heat of August before the onset of the winter of December and January!

The choice of fenced-in and closed places for holding the "incubation" meetings was an arbitrary one, just as happened in the city of Samsata in Bani Suwayf Governorate where the agricultural administration's headquarters, located 3 kilometers outside the city's perimeter, was selected for the Labor Party meetings. [This is] the place which Ibrahim Shukri rejected as a meeting site, saying, "We have not come to have a dialogue with the rats which they have stopped combatting in order to fight us." Ibrahim Shukri insisted on walking the 3 kilometers on foot until he got to the city's Grand Mosque where he used

the steps as a podium and the mosque's yard as a proper meeting place. It was a public meeting, as guaranteed by Egypt's written constitution, about which al-Sadat said that he preferred Britains' unwritten constitution over it!

After the conference, the masses of Samsata paid the required price for the exercise of freedom when 17 of the conferees were charged with [unlawful] assembly. Something like that had taken place in al-Tall al-Kabir where Governor 'Amarah had insisted that the Labor Party conference be held in a government meeting hall that holds 20 persons, while the well-intentioned interior minister had given permission for the conference to be held in another hall that holds 50 persons. Ibrahim Shukri rejected both places and held his conference in the street, without a pavilion or podium. Taking away the right to hold a public meeting in such a manner is something that is unknown and unfamiliar to Egypt in any era, including the bilateral al-Sadat-Habawi era.

In the face of such practices that block the way of democratic practice and of the parties' freedom of peaceful assembly with their masses, it has recently become obvious that the method of traditional movement for Egyptian parties within the framework of publishing a newspaper or holding a caged conference is no longer suitable for facing such suppressive measures. The situation requires going to the people as individuals, instead of calling them for caged meetings!

Every time the Labor Party committees followed this new practice for public meetings, they had the worst time convincing security authorities to assign appropriate places for holding popular conferences called for by the Labor Party leader and leadership. This and all restrictions notwithstanding, the Egyptian masses' reception of Labor Party conferences was a pragmatic reply to government practices and attempts to keep the masses away from their political leaderships. Many times, the interior minister had to intervene to rectify some intransigent stances adopted by local security authorities.

With the success of the Labor Party's popular conventions, which have reverberated to neighboring governorates, the National Party has embarked upon a new tactic to foil Labor Party conferences. The incidents in al-Qantarah Sharq and Ismailia, on the 24th of last month when Eng Ibrahim Shukri and party leaders were subjected to criminal assault by National Party leaders in the two cities, were a sort of inauguration for this tactic in political intrigue, and a green light for it to be implemented under the umbrella of negative police neutrality. The most dangerous indication in the al-Qantarah Sharq and Ismailia incidents was that the purpose of the trouble was not just to foil the Labor Party conferences, but to spread a dissonant tune that the leaders, who had come to Ismailia Governorate, had not obtained a prior permission to enter these restricted areas which are a state within the Egyptian state. Since the government and the security authorities demonstrated their inability to impose law and order, it seemed that the other parties had a right to use personal means to repel such aggression when it was repeated.

Instead of the political and executive leadership taking firm measures toward these unfortunate excesses in order to deter the perpetrators, as ruling party secretary general and Prime Minister Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din had promised, the government and the ruling party went along with this aggression by offering counter-charges replete with deception and twisted facts, like the charge brought against me personally by the National Party secretary in al-Qantarah Sharq, charging that I hit him in the arm when, in fact, I had been hit, and had reported the assault against me when I was the Labor Party leader in al-Qantarah Sharq.

If we go back to the minutes of the conference of the opposition parties and national detachments, held on 16 July to discuss boycotting the upcoming People's Assembly elections if the parties' demands for guarantees concerning the reform of the election machine [were not met], and if the government insisted on enacting a People's Assembly election--the debate of which began toward the end of the fourth legislative session--with all the restrictions and provisions published in the government press, [we notice that] the reaction of the National Party government was reflected in the great concern over what the parties had frequently said about boycotting the elections or freezing their activities.

It seemed that this boycott is incompatible with the rules of the game the National Party wants to impose, on its own terms, on the forces that are wrestling with it. This is not to mention departing from the scenario calling for executing a certain [democratic] decor which is form without substance for a multi-party system that affords the rule a tinge of legitimacy and which is parallel, albeit in form, with the version of multiple parties in the State of Israel, which has a treaty with Egypt and which still boasts of being the only oasis for democracy in the Middle East.

On the other hand, the National Party's press and government have resorted to an unveiled attempt to disrupt the opposition parties' joint action, betting on their positions becoming shaky, and planting the seeds of discord among the parties, including what was being said about some journalists enticing the Labor Party at an early date to run for the People's Assembly elections, and suddenly recognizing that the Labor Party has a real presence in the Egyptian street and a chance to obtain a percentage much higher than 8 percent. Unfortunately, they are the very same journalists who had described all the opposition parties as paper parties.

Ibrahim Shukri, the man, the position and the principle, who has behind him 50 years of loyal and sincere participation in public action that took him to the simple people of Egypt, and whose inherited social status guarantees him a prominent place with its upper crust, sees the issue in a different light. He believes that the issue of the parties' participation in or boycott of the general elections is not and must not be a decision made by a party leader or leadership, nor is it the decision of the opposition parties together. If it can be rightfully said that this is a fateful decision for the entire Egyptian people, then no individual group has a right to make it in isolation from what is on the mind of the true decision makers, that is, the broad masses of the Egyptian people. This is particularly so in view of the new



turning point and the delicate circumstances the country is experiencing. It has become clear before one's eyes that Ahmad Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din is preparing, in every way, for a constitutional coup, in the Isma'il Sidqi manner, that will return the country to a one rule system.

Thus, Ibrahim Shukri decided to tour Egypt from one end to the other on foot, a simple, loyal, selfless and honorable man beginning his tour in Upper Egypt in the scorching summer, for nobility of purpose is commensurate with hardship. This tour represents a field action that transcends traditional methods in order to make democratic practice in Egypt a reality, not a slogan; to stir up positive incentives for participation by all the people, the young ones in particular, through a dialogue; to overcome the barriers of fear and search for lost opportunities; and to generate, through dialogue and racking the Egyptian brain, energy for popular participation in the public decisionmaking process. It is a partisan experience which, if destined to succeed and avoid obstacles, could perhaps turn still waters into a gushing waterfall that will make the blood circulate in the Egyptian body that has been disabled by the hemiplegia of negativism and that refuses to experiment with many treatments, the sources of which it does not trust!

I personally had stated in a previous article that the walls of accumulated fears, the confidence gap, and the grind of daily suffering are the real walls that make the entire Egyptian terrain a huge poultry coop!

Accordingly, I had forecast that Egypt needed a genuine Egyptian ideology and leadership able to grasp the Egyptian people's need for a new antidote. We are in dire need of a leader of the caliber of the Indian and Third World legend, Gandhi, who understood Third World concerns; a leader who will carry his faith and his rod and walk among the people in markets, nursing their wounds and rousing their hope; who will be a model for them and return their trust. Egypt is in great need of a model and trust.

Once again, I had the honor of accompanying Ibrahim Shukri on his trip to Upper Egypt. We left Monday morning, 1 August, with a small group that included an editor and a photographer from AL-SHA-B. We had a few articles of clothing and a little food. We absolutely had no weapons except the weapon of faith in Egypt. On the road to belonging to Egypt, and with the first morning breeze, we began looking at Egypt's sun, green land and clear skies, and we glanced from afar at its pyramids and its ruins, asking ourselves, "What has changed in our life when the sky is still the sky, the land is still the land, and Egypt is still Egypt?" We began more and more wondering to ourselves what was the missing link in our life.

The echo comes back from within the soul: It is the link of freedom and human dignity. It is our missing link on the road to a change for the better.



## NDP Replies to Accusations

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 15 Aug 83 p 11

[Article: "The Truth About What Happened During the Visit of Labor Party Leader to Bani Suwayf. Labor Party Secretary Wanted To Cause a Crisis To Make a Point. Witnesses Give MAYU a Step-by-Step Account of What Happened. Labor Party Tried To Distort the Situation, So the Visit of its Leader Was a Fiasco"]

[Text] In its previous edition, dated 8 August, MAYU published a report based on information from its correspondent in Bani Suwayf about the failure of the tour undertaken by Eng Ibrahim Shukri, leader of the Labor Party. The failure was due to the local populace's boycott of the conferences held by Ibrahim Shukri in al-Fashn and Bani Suwayf and to their shunning him during his tour in the governorate's cities and villages.

The day following the [8 August] report, AL-SHA'B newspaper confronted us on 9 August with a reply to the MAYU report. It tried to provide excuses and justifications for the failure of the Labor Party leader's tour to Bani Suwayf, saying it was due to intervention by security agencies who pressured citizens to close their doors in the face of the Labor Party leader, and concocted false stories accusing National Party members in Bani Suwayf's district capital of tearing down posters welcoming the party leader and of trying to thwart his political conferences.

In the face of these allegations, MAYU set out to record what actually happened. It listened to eye-witnesses there and came out with this report on the visit of the Labor Party leader to Bani Suwayf and his 10-day stay there.

The first account is told by 'Umar Sulayman Abu Hassubah, governorate youth committee member, who said that "while I was passing by with Eng Hasan 'Ali, secretary of the mayor's office committee, we saw in front of the 'Umar Ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz Mosque, at the Directorate Square, an altercation between a person and several boys. We did not know who this person was. We later found out that he was the secretary of the Labor Party in Bani Suwayf who lives in Baba. We discovered that he intentionally wanted to cause a crisis so as to register a position in his party's favor and began reviling some National Party leaders. We submitted an official report to party secretary justice Sa'd al-Bahnasawi who presented it to the Bani Suwayf district office commissioner."

Then He Apologized

Muhammad Muharram, secretary of the Mawlid al-Nabi Quarter committee, completed this account by saying: "I intervened to settle the argument and persuaded the Labor Party secretary, Sa'd 'Abbud, to go to the security directorate's police precinct to [get them to] investigate [the matter]. He was convinced of what I told him and thanked me in front of the precinct chief. When he found out who I was and what my party status was, he accused me of taking part in tearing down the posters that were put up at the Directorate Square welcoming the Labor Party leaders, charging that I had torn down and stolen the posters. He later apologized to me and asked that I be acquitted."

It turned out later that the posters were torn down by some large trucks [passing by] with high loads and [also by] some boys. This fact was demonstrated when some posters were torn down during our investigation.

In Bandar Abu Suwayf, we met with Brig Gen Faruq Safi-al-Din who said: "Sa'd 'Abbud submitted a report saying that, while he was passing by the precinct district, he found people trying to tear down the party's posters at Hafiz Street in the square. When he tried to seize them, they left. With him was Muhammad Muharram who, he said, reviled and abused him, then he returned and apologized to him."

The brigadier general went on to say: "This notwithstanding, we recorded the statement of both parties after the party secretary came in with a report quoting Hasan Abu Hassubah and Hasan 'Ali as saying that they saw Sa'd 'Abbud in the Station Square reviling the National Party leaders. We instructed the Labor Party secretary to put up other posters wherever he liked under our protection."

In the Bani Suwayf precinct station, precinct chief Brig Gen Abu Zayd al-Wakil said: "I only went to al-Maymun on my day off (Friday) after the leader of the Labor Party left the governorate. I had nothing to do with any restrictions or warnings to the local populace, as has been alleged. I did not know he was going to visit al-Maymun until he got there. We do not refuse to meet with Ibrahim Shukri, in his personal capacity, but we refuse to meet with him in his partisan capacity. This is what my brother, Ahmad al-Wakil, did. As for the al-Maymun people, no one can influence them; even if we were able to influence one or two thousand people, how could we influence 40,000?"

#### Defamation and Libel

In the village of Bihbashin, Nasir Precinct, Hajj Zakariya Musa, former secretary of the Liberal Party, who recently joined the National Party, said: "The one responsible for the failure of the Labor Party leader's trip was Ibrahim Shukri himself. He tried to visit towns and precincts where the Labor Party has no presence. Moreover, all throughout his visit, which lasted over 10 days, he showed his true colors. He did not mention, in the two conferences in al-Fashn and Bani Suwayf, anything about his party platform or the objectives of his program. All he did was to libel and defame the National Party leader. This gave a bad impression, so the people walked away from him. He was the one who planned the visit and he is responsible for its failure."

In the village of Ashmant, where the Labor Party leader stayed for the duration of his visit to Bani Suwayf Governorate, Mustafa al-Humayli, director of Nasir Agriculture, said: "We wondered about the reason for Ibrahim Shukri's visit to the village which does not have a single Labor Party member. We discovered later that he used it as his headquarters, so as to stay at the villa of Dr Muhammad Fathi Najib, husband of his sister-in-law. The village was going about its normal life, and on Friday he performed the Friday prayers with the rest of the citizens at the village mosque and went back to the villa. He did not talk to anyone, which proves that he has no party base

here. The people here showed him all due respect and no one came in contact with him.

#### Why Did He Come to the Village?

Ramadan Hasanayn, a laborer in Ashmant, wondered: "I know that Ibrahim Shukri is the Labor Party leader and our town is not 'Labor Party' and has no opposition members, so why did he come to the village? He came, but no one was aware of his coming."

Mahmud Haykal, a tax examiner living in Ashmant, said: "We were surprised by his presence in the village at his brother's-in-law villa. I believe that a visit by any opposition party leader is a normal visit, provided that he deals with his party platform and offers solutions to people's problems, and not revile and defame National Party leaders. That's why no one in the village came forward to welcome or invite him."

#### More Than One Story

Proceeding with our investigation and attempts to prove the allegations false, we went from Ashmant to al-Maymun where the Labor Party leader opened his party committee under the chairmanship of "Husayn 'Id al-Nuwaysh," after he rented a room from him at his house for 40 pounds a month and promised to connect a special telephone line to the party headquarters. As soon as we entered the village, a young man named Husayn 'Abd-al-Basit, fourth year commerce student at Bani Suwayf College, came to us, announcing that he had cabled his resignation to the Labor Party, expressing his horror at the distortion of a question once put to the Labor Party leader during an encounter with him.

Muhammad Bur'i al-Jamal, an accountant with the Orient Insurance Company, said: "There are no roots for the Labor Party in al-Maymun. Even the committee that has been announced under the chairmanship of Husayn al-Nuwaysh, is doomed to failure because he is a despised person and his criminal record attests to his behavior. That's why he responded to the Labor Party when the National Party rejected him."

Muhammad Mu'awwad 'Ali, an al-Maymun postal worker, said: "I joined the Labor Party during Ibrahim Shukri's visit to al-Maymun and when I heard him speak at the al-Fashn conference, I discovered that he was full of hatred and rancor so I submitted my resignation before he left Bani Suwayf, and now I am announcing it through MAYU."

Ahmad al-Wakil, People's Assembly member for the Nasir Precinct and an al-Maymun native said: "The Labor Party leader contacted brother Muhammad al-Wakil in Cairo, asking him to invite him to al-Maymun to hold a conference about 'Mustafa al-Wakil' and his role in the Young Egypt Party, and to distribute a pamphlet in his name at the conference. Muhammad al-Wakil responded without having any political background and without anticipating what happened. When the people in al-Maymun boycotted the Labor Party leader, and shops and grocery stores closed down, the Labor Party leader could do nothing but go to the house of Muhammad al-Wakil where he, coincidentally, began receiving

resignations from his followers. So, he was forced to resort to Husayn al-Nuwaysh and announce the opening of the Labor Party committee in al-Maymun. The people's actions express their personal will and their total rejection of any opposition party. All of al-Maymun is National Party and his visit to Muhammad al-Wakil is a personal, not a partisan visit."

#### Bani Suwayf NDP Land

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 22 Aug 83 p 7

[Article by 'Abd-al-'Azim al-Basil: "MAYU in Bani Suwayf. There Is no Presence for Opposition Parties in the Conventional Sense, and This Is the Proof: There Is not One Village at the Governorate Level That Does not Have National Party Organizations. The Governor: We Follow the Team Modus Operandi"]

[Text] There are no opposition parties, in the conventional sense, in Bani Suwayf, and the proof is there. Also, there is not one village at the governorate level that does not have National Party organizations. Political and executive work is carried out in a team spirit; no clashes and no splits between the party and the government. These are the main characteristics that visitors to Bani Suwayf come to realize.

The governorate is changing from an agricultural to an agricultural-industrial zone so as to be the most attractive to the people. Besides its long agricultural history, it has begun to forge ahead on the industrial path. It has started to set up a series of food industries based on agricultural production. Bani Suwayf has the largest dairy farm in Egypt. It also has a huge clay bricks factory with an annual production capacity of 60 million bricks. The rapporteur of the popular development committee confirms that Bani Suwayf is the most [efficient] governorate in food security.

There is a severe housing problem; 50 percent of the houses in the governorate are about to collapse. Therefore, as the experts say, we must connect the east [bank] to the west [bank] and must plan for a new city east of the Nile. With this, Bani Suwayf can be established on a modern basis.

"Bani Suwayf is a governorate that has been somewhat neglected."

That is how Dr Mahmud al-Rayyis, Bani Suwayf governor, began his talk with MAYU. This is due, in his opinion, to a bad choice and indifference concerning elements working in local agencies, in general, and the rapid succession of directors of the executive apparatus in Bani Suwayf, in particular.

"You must know that Bani Suwayf Governorate has had 'eight governors' within 3 years, which has been a contributing factor to the deteriorating situation in the governorate, even though there is a binding work plan that is not linked to the change in personnel. However, the stability of the executive apparatus and the unified action in following up the implementation of the plan is more conducive to the realization of its goal than change and instability. [This is] in addition to care in selecting executives on the local government level who must be qualified, active and of good moral caliber so

as to command from the citizens a positive response and cooperate with the executive apparatus that is able, in turn, to stimulate the plan and hasten its implementation."

Dr al-Rayyis goes on to say: "Our work here in Bani Suwayf is of a special nature. There is no separation between the party and the executive apparatus and meetings are being held continually at the headquarters to discuss the problems of the masses and reach decisions; there is no room for clashes between the party and the executives. Everyone works as a team for the advancement of the governorate which has become a center of repulsion rather than attraction for many citizens. If there were interest in the various development projects which we have eagerly worked to develop since our presence in the governorate, Bani Suwayf would go back to being a field of attraction rather than of repulsion.

"In order to achieve that, we aim to turn Bani Suwayf, an agricultural governorate, into an agri-industrial one so as to make it more attractive. This requires the establishment of food industries based on agricultural products such as the project agreed upon with the 'Masrub' company to manufacture 'sauce' from the tomato crop now available in Bani Suwayf.

"In addition, we aim to develop the animal resources and solve the fodder problem by depending on corn and cotton by-products; this factory will be expanded to include all agricultural by-products in each of Minya, al-Fayyum and south al-Gizah."

#### Dual Expansion

Hamdi Salim, assistant secretary general of Bani Suwayf Governorate, picks up where the governor left off by saying: "The arable land in Bani Suwayf, estimated at 270,000 feddans, is limited. Consequently, we are concentrating on vertical expansion in the wake of the success of the 'didactic [i.e., teaching] farms' with regards to the corn crop which reached 26 ardebs per feddan, and the tomato crop, which grew to 40 tons, for a 300-feddan area and a 100-feddan area, respectively. This year, our corn production grew to 50,000 feddans for corn and 3,200 feddans for tomatoes, apart from agricultural concentration on some crops such as cotton and onions.

"Add to this the projected horizontal expansion of 17,000 feddans, 5,000 of which are east of the Nile in 'Sadmant al-Jabal,' which belongs to the Ahnasiya Center."

#### Dredging Is a Chronic Problem

The secretary general adds: "Here in Bani Suwayf, we have the largest red brick factories. There are 171 factories with a daily production of 3 million bricks. This is done at the expense of the arable land which is being dredged, and we are against that. In order to eliminate this phenomenon without causing damage, we have constructed a clay brick factory with an annual [production] capacity of 60 million bricks, which is reinforced by another line with the same capacity. We are also urging the red brick factories to depend on "clay" instead of dredging arable land and we are making dredging a criminal offense.

As for the housing problem, it has reached alarming proportions in Bani Suwayf, particularly in the city where 50 percent of the buildings are about to collapse. Therefore, we have to connect the east [bank] to the west [bank] and plan for a new city east of the Nile beyond the green belt. Part of this land will be reserved for construction cooperatives, a housing bank and government agencies."

#### Role of Local Governments in Food Security

"We are the most competent governorate in food security." This is what the rapporteur of the popular development committee and the party assistant secretary, 'Abbas Safi-al-Din, said. He added: "We, as local governments, have a prominent role in food security, excluding the private sector. We have increased our production from 350,000 chickens to 1 million chickens, and are in the process of expanding the station to raise production to 3 million chickens. The station is considered the largest for raising Fayyumi chicken, and is located in 'Barut.' It also produces annually 5 million fertile eggs and more than 2 million chicks that are distributed to small farmers to raise.

"We have also concentrated on expanding projects for fattening cattle in local units in order to provide meat at suitable prices. These projects have grown to an annual capacity of 6,000 [head], and there is a fattening station with an annual capacity of 2,500 head, at a total cost of 1.1 million pounds."

Dr Sa'id al-Qadi, director of veterinary medicine and supervisor of the automated slaughterhouse in the governorate, explains the importance of building a slaughterhouse to absorb the governorate's poultry production and of organizing and distributing such production through group cooperatives so as to prevent the governorate's production from leaving the governorate through merchants and the private sector. Therefore, he says, "We buy the government production, estimated at 4 million birds per year, and the same amount from the private sector. Since the slaughterhouse went into production last March, it has been processing 1,000 birds per hour. The slaughterhouse buys at 115 [piasters] a kilo and sells at 165 piasters a kilo, after a two-thirds weight loss. The slaughterhouse production is distributed to group and consumer cooperatives in the governorate under the supervision of the supply [ministry] which requires merchants to sell at the price set by the governorate. The slaughterhouse has a 50-ton capacity refrigerator and a 50-ton freezing tunnel. It will have, in the future, an annex for the manufacture of poultry feed from by-products."

#### Vocational Courses To Train Young People

Sayyid Mihran, governorate youth secretary, says: "The basis of our work philosophy here is to make young people feel that they have tangible contributions [to make] through their work and dealings with the people. That is why we have not committed ourselves to a specific program, but thought about projects that would be of direct benefit to young people. We have sent more than 200 young men and women to the construction and building training center to be trained in nine different fields: plumbing, electricity, painting, commerce, tile laying, etc. at a monthly incentive wage of 45 pounds.



"Moreover, young men take part in the national anti-rat campaign by forming a 60-member group from each center. They have also embarked upon the reclamation and cultivation of 60 feddans in 'Sannur' village, east of the Nile, as a nucleus for a youth farm for 300 young people, the construction of which will start the 15th of this month."

#### No Presence for Opposition Parties Here!

At the end of the meeting, Justice Sa'd al-Bahnasawi, secretary of the National Party, said: "We are not the only party in the political arena, but, nonetheless, there are no opposition parties, in the familiar sense of the word, in Bani Suwayf. Clear proof is in the visit to the governorate of SLP leader Ibrahim Shukri who was shunned by everyone all the time he was in Bani Suwayf. He was unable, during his 11-day stay, to hold one popular conference or to get the people's attention, despite his attempts to cause trouble with the young people and the security forces with a view to creating a clash to use as a pretext for claiming persecution.. But, everyone left him do what he liked, and all this notwithstanding, he did not get the attention he expected, particularly in al-Maymun, an electoral district of 20,000 votes, where everyone closed the doors in his face, and in Atwab al-Wasita where he met a similar fate. Concerning the National Party in Bani Suwayf, it is working alongside the executive apparatus and its presence in the political street is a basis for its growing membership which has jumped from 10,000 to 23,000 or more members within 1 year, due to its presence and efforts to solve people's problems. There is no one village in the governorate that does not have a party organization base.

"As for the party cause today, besides solving everyday problems through encounters with village and district officials, it is to hold elections starting with local governments and ending with the People's Assembly. Citizens who belong to the National Party cannot but get the feeling that the nominations will be done in accordance with objective criteria measured by a person's contribution and dynamism among the people. The door is open to anyone who comes forward and the nomination criteria will be set on a priority basis. We shall evaluate former [i.e., old] members before new members."

12502

CSO: 4504/576



## STUDENT UNREST REPORTED

London AFRICA NOW in English No 30, Oct 83 p 34

[Text]

confrontation, several police were injured and one student shot dead. The 1982 demonstrations, by far larger than the recent one, were sparked off by a 62.5% increase in the price of sugar.

Still hounded by that bitter experience, the government feared that the students might arouse public sympathy and so decided to close the schools. The official closure, however, was not announced until the third day in a joint statement by Education and Guidance Minister Osman Sidahmed and the Khartoum Province Commissioner. The statement attributed the closure to "transport difficulties and power-cuts resulting from the decline in the electric power output due to the fluctuating levels of the Nile water."

The government avoided the other issue posed by the students: the lack of text and exercise books, lack of teachers and overcrowding in the classroom. At present, these failings appear beyond the capabilities of the government to correct, laden as it is with domestic problems, as well as the "ghost" of Gadaffi looming in the region.

The education problem is partly rooted in All government and private schools in Khartoum Province were closed recently following anti-government student demonstrations. The trouble began on August 26, shortly after the long summer holiday, when students, led by Khartoum Commercial Secondary School, protested against deteriorating education conditions, transport difficulties and electric power cuts. The police dispersed them.

The Commissioner of Khartoum Province, Babiker Ali el Tom, summarily closed all the schools in his province. The following day, when the various headmasters announced the government decision, angry students went on the rampage, throwing stones at vehicles and houses. Again the police controlled them before they could inflict much damage.

The government reacted swiftly because

early last year there were similar student demonstrations. During that in the underdevelopment of the country, which in recent years has witnessed a rapid rural migration to Khartoum. The congestion has greatly affected the schools, doubling the number of the students and resulting in overcrowding. In addition, most teachers migrate to the Arab Gulf where salaries are much higher than in the Sudan.

As well as the secondary schools, Khartoum Polytechnic College, University of Gezira, the University of Juba and the Islamic University of Omdurman have all been closed in the past few months. The reasons for their closure vary from one school to another. But in most universities, the Muslim Brotherhood, a fanatic Muslim sect with majorities in most student unions, manipulated the situation under the guise of criticising "poor educational conditions." The government has not yet given any sign when these institutions will reopen.

Compounding the recent disturbances is the fact that since early August there have been massive power cuts and a shortage of water in Khartoum. The Blue Nile's seasonal flooding, carrying heavy silt from the Ethiopian highlands, has blocked the turbines at El Roseires Dam, Sudan's major power supplier. Until the water level and the silt subside, the power and water shortage will continue to hit Khartoum hard.

The economy too has deteriorated. A labourer's monthly wage 28 Sudanese Pounds (about \$22) hardly cover this monthly transport fare. The country's huge debt and its \$1.2bn balance of payments deficit contribute to the deteriorating situation. Hopes to repay the debt and balance the deficit appeared bleak. The government rests its hopes on the oil discovered in Southern and Western Sudan. But at present this remains a wishful thought; oil exploitation is not expected to start until 1985 •

OFFICIAL IN MINISTRY OF LIGHT INDUSTRIES VIEWS VARIOUS SECTORS

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 23 Sep 83 p 7

[Article by Muhyi al-Din Jasim: "Senior Undersecretary of the Ministry of Light Industries Talks to AL-THAWRAH about Contributions of Industrial Bank to the Process of Industrialization"]

[Text] Period of national development characterized by two principal phenomena.  
Private and mixed industrial sectors to be subsidized within set boundaries.

Leaders of the party and the revolution have given private industrial activity special attention in an effort to shore up and reinforce the progress of private industry and make it one of the principal mainstays of industrial development in the country. Consolidated investments in the development plan for 1981-1985 amounted to 7 percent of the volume of investments earmarked for the socialist industrial sector for the same period. The process of industrial development has been modified more effectively, and funds appropriated for industrial development constituted 17 percent of investments earmarked for the socialist industrial sector.

This statement was made to AL-THAWRAH by Ahnaf Muhyi al-Din al-Kamit, senior undersecretary of the Ministry of Light Industries. Mr al-Kamit said, "The 17-30 July Revolution has brought about a historical turning point in the progress of light industries. This period has been a turning point in the country's political, social and economic thought. Its aim is to bring about a fundamental change in the economic makeup [of the country], a change that would have effects on private industrial activity."

Implications of the Revolution's Support for Private Activity

The undersecretary added, "On the basis of that premise the national development plan stipulated that it was necessary to support the private sector within set boundaries. The private sector was to be provided with all the resources it could use to play its proper part in the process of economic development. The proper climate was to be made available for economic development in general and for industrial development in particular. This was to be done to ensure easy terms for this sector. The capital of the Industrial Bank was increased from 4.75 million dinars to 50 million dinars. This was done to increase the bank's contributions to the process of industrialization."

## Positive Change

The undersecretary went on to say, "As a result of that support, relative and positive change was realized in private industrial activity. The change was realized in the standard and the quality of some conversion industries, even though there are concrete differences between some of them. Although these changes were not up to the standard that had been hoped for and although some industries did make some contribution to the objectives and strategies of the national development plan for the years 1970-1974 by producing goods to replace imports, the 1976-1980 National Development Plan Act emphasized the fact that private activity was to be given a clear role in development. The progress and activity of private industry were to be free of those complications that could make private industry hesitate in making an effective contribution to building the national economy.

## The Ideal Investment for the Country's Resources

The undersecretary said, "The period from 1974 to 30 May 1983 has two characteristics. First, that period represents the period of national development which the country experienced as a result of the fact that it invested its financial revenues and resources well. Second, the final years of the plan are those in which the country entered into a just war to defend its territory and its sovereignty against the oppressive aggression of Iran. It's been noted that 1,766 projects have been completed with total investments amounting to 26.1 million dinars. Thus, the number of projects approved and implemented during the post-revolutionary period and from then till now is 2,555, with total investments amounting to 151.1 million dinars. Hence it becomes evident that one of the most important and most prominent premises of the revolution is that which regards the private industrial sector as complementary to the socialist industrial sector. In other words, the areas of investment mentioned in the private sector's development plans are determined on the basis of a developing association between previous experiences and the requirements of the present stage. These areas of investment are determined in the light of resources that are available for rapid growth in this sector."

## What about the Mixed Sector?

Responding to a question about developments in the mixed sector, the undersecretary said, "There is no doubt that the revolution has defined clear objectives for that sector. These may be summarized in establishing average as well as large industrial projects and guaranteeing the socialist sector some measure of supervision over these projects and the directions they are taking. Development of the mixed sector under the Revolution has been noticeable. This was evident in the increase in the number of companies and in the volume of investments in those companies. It was also reflected on the variety and diversity of what this sector produces. The goods produced by this sector have now become an economic fact as growth in the quantity and quality of this sector has become an economic fact. In view of continued support for this sector, the number of mixed companies at the present time is 13. This came about after action was taken to merge five companies with one and abolish and liquidate another. By 31 December 1980 total investments in that sector amounted to 125.3 million dinars. By 31 December 1981 these investments had risen to 149.3 million dinars.

In concluding his [remarks] the undersecretary said, "These indicators affirm the fact that the Revolution is supporting these two sectors in order to improve them in light of instructions from the commander of victory, the president and leader, Saddam Husayn.

8592

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# AL-MAWSIL TEXTILE MILLS OFFER WORKERS SERVICES

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 9 Sep 83 p 8

[Article by Walid 'Abd-al-Karim: "New Production Lines, Broad Services for Workers in the Public Establishment for Textiles in Mosul"]

[Excerpts] The friendly city of al-Mawsil has been known throughout history as a center for manufacturing good, strong fabrics in our country. Al-Mawsil became famous for the muslin it produced, and muslin, whose fame has spread since ancient times, took its name from the city of al-Mawsil.

Today, the city is resuming its role in the textile industry through its factories and industrial establishments. The Public Establishment for Textiles in al-Mawsil, which was founded in the fifties, is being developed and renovated under the aegis of the Revolution and al-Qadisiyah. In this year's celebrations [commemorating] the glorious July Revolution, projects to develop plant number 1 in the establishment and a modern cooperative restaurant for workers were inaugurated.

## Basic Objectives for Development

[Engineer Taha Mahmud Sultan], director general of the establishment went on to say, "There were basic objectives for developing the new production line. One of them was to reduce reliance on labor to about one fourth. That is, the old figure of 800 workers would be reduced to 200 workers under the new system. Another objective was to improve the economics of operations and realize a financial return--a profit--for the socialist sector. We would not forget to mention that development increased workers' productivity at some production sites. Productivity rose up to 280 percent of what it was in the past."

"Other advantages follow," Engineer Taha indicated. "Among these advantages are improvements in the work environment. Noise and dust have largely been limited to ensure the safety and health of workers. The fact that a high level of automation has been adopted in handling and transporting operations and in difficult operations as well has given workers an opportunity to attend to matters of quality control, product quality inspection and other specialized activities. In addition, computerized control methods have been introduced to measure the operating efficiency of machines and workers, control loss of time, and note deviations. This information is recorded in reports that are submitted daily by the computer. This information may also be reviewed on special cathode ray tubes (CRT's).

"Development has had other returns; these are manifested in the fact that new products are being marketed. These products meet the needs of the marketplace and the tastes of consumers. The manufacturing standards of these products are higher than those of traditional local products."

#### An Integrated Residential Neighborhood

We were escorted on a tour of al-Mansur residential neighborhood by Mr Yunis Muhammad Mahmud, residential supervisor in the establishment. Al-Mansur is a residential neighborhood for workers and employees of the establishment. During the tour Mr Mahmud talked to us about providing homes for workers. There are 1,729 residential units [in that neighborhood, and they are available] at reasonable rent. These units are occupied by the families of those who are affiliated with the establishment in accordance with controls and conditions of eligibility. The residential superintendent and the home maintenance branch of the establishment supervise public services in the neighborhood, and they provide maintenance as well as other services for homes in the neighborhood.

During our visit to the neighborhood we saw a modern shopping mall that had 88 stores. There were bakeries where bread [was sold], a casino, a post office, a municipal department, a hospital, a mosque, a cooperative grocery store for those affiliated with the establishment, schools of all stages, a kindergarten, a park, a branch for the association of women and a vocational social center. There were also paved streets used by the Passenger Transit Administration as well as private passenger cars. However, some of the areas of the neighborhood were complaining about the fact that no attention was being given to stopped up sewers and to the removal of garbage. What is required from the municipal department is earnest cooperation in providing services in this area to residents of the forementioned neighborhood.

8592

CSO: 4404/12

EFFORTS UNDERWAY ON PROVINCIAL WATER PROJECTS

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 10 Sep 83 p 8

[Article by Fadil Qalamji: "Fresh Water To Flow in Baghdad Continuously after the Completion of this Monumental Project"]

[Excerpts] Work is continuing on eight major drinking water projects in al-Samawah, al-Iskandariyah, Karbala', al-Diwaniyah, Ba'qubah, al-Falujah, al-Sulaymaniyah and the project to irrigate the western desert.

The availability of good drinking water in the capital, Baghdad, and in any village, no matter how remote, has become a convenient necessity, despite the fact that water service is interrupted for hours in very limited areas. However, when one thinks about people before the revolution and reflects a little on the past, prior to the onset of the glorious 17-30 July Revolution, one recalls scenes of muddy streams and filthy water scoops for citizens who resided in villages and rural areas. These muddy streams and filthy water scoops were considered the only source for drinking water. In addition, most areas of the capital were almost deprived of sanitary drinking water. Other areas often suffered from continuous interruptions of water services. Such interruptions would last for several hours a day.

In this period of time the availability of drinking water is a difficult necessity.

Now we see that a new step is being taken every day to cover the governorates of the country with an integrated modern system that would ensure the uninterrupted flow of potable water.

I would not be exaggerating were I to say that the al-Karakh Water Project, which is being implemented at the present time, is considered one of the most outstanding projects not only in Iraq, but also in the entire Middle East area. This project, which will be the focal point of this report, will solve all problems when it is completed in the near future. It will guarantee that the capital will have an advanced system that covers all its needs, its landmarks and its factories. This project was furnished with resources when it was founded. These resources are the product of a long development of studies and research into Baghdad's actual needs for drinking water now and in the future.



In order to bring closer to home an image about this and other similar projects characterized by special, exclusive abilities and calculations, I will keep the spotlight until the end of this report on the organizations that are standing behind the implementation of these important projects. I will keep a spotlight on their capabilities and on the advanced, scientific technical methods that were used in building these projects. We will also deal in this report with the other outstanding projects that are being implemented in the governorates of the country. They are among those projects that are getting the attention of leaders of the party and the Revolution, chiefly President Saddam Husayn. Those leaders find that prospects for services projects have to be expanded, particularly sanitary drinking water projects as well as other projects. This provides conclusive evidence of the propriety and permanence of the course without which the country would not have developed and overcome a burdensome inherited legacy. Nor would the country have been able to attain that kind of cultural advancement [which it did attain].

#### Implementation Continues

Engineer Qays Muhammad Salim al-Bahrani, acting director of the Public Company for Water and Sewage Works said, "The company's continued perseverance in carrying out its service functions--functions in which it has clear, technical superiority--is reflected in the fact that the projects it has been implementing have expanded. When it was founded in 1977 the company was a small contracting firm, but it has been able to stand on its feet, and it is now implementing numerous projects. A sample, not an exhaustive listing of these projects includes al-Karakh Water Project, the Consolidated al-Samawah-al-Ramithah water projects, the Consolidated al-Iskandariyah Water Project, Karbala', al-Diwaniyah, Ba'qubah, al-Falujah, al-Sulaymaniyah water project; and the first and second phases of the irrigation project for the western desert."

Engineer al-Bahrani added, "With regard to projects for heavy water pipe networks, the company is implementing the second expansion for al-Rustumiyah Purification Center; the third expansion for the same center; the principal northern sewer; al-Karakh Sewage Project; a sewage system for al-Nasiriyah; sewage contract project numbers 122, 125 and 121 which were completed for the city of Saddam; a sewage project for the city of al-Sulaymaniyah; the systems; purification stations; the sewage system for the city of al-Qayarah; a water and sewage project for the administrative district of al-Mahmudiyah; the industrial housing services project in the administrative district of al-Mahmudiyah also; sewage for the city of Tikrit; and a sewage expansion project for the area of al-Karakh."

#### 1,350,000 Cubic Meters Daily

According to Dr al-Bahrani the design capacity of al-Karakh Water Purification Project is 1,350,000 cubic meters a day. [By comparison], the capacity of all water purification projects in the country--the capacity of seven old and new water purification projects--amounts to 1 million cubic meters. One notices the vast difference in the purification capacity of this one project compared with other projects.

To set the record straight, Dr al-Bahrani affirmed, "The secretariat of the capital is acting through the Baghdad Water Department to implement a basic and a

significant part of this monumental project after having received all the needs and requirements for that part of the project. The Water Department was able to make significant progress with a high degree of efficiency in implementation operations, and all the employees of the Public Company for Water and Sewage Works were proud of that." I said, "In my conversation, which suggested emphasis on the detailed aspects of the project that the company is implementing...." He said, "The company is implementing the purification tanks jointly with an international firm. These purification tanks are the northern tank in the district of al-Shu'lah; the southern tank; and the Abu Gharib tank. The storage capacity of the northern tank is 210 million liters, and it will be implemented with the main station that will pump water to the systems. The southern tank is located in the district of al-Saydiyah, and its storage capacity is 130 million liters. We are also implementing the main pumping station which is linked with it and which pumps water to the systems in preparation for distribution to the districts.

"The company is also implementing a system of pipelines that is 200,000 meters long. These are dual pumping pipes whose diameter is between 2.5 meters and 2.10 meters. Just imagine: the diameter of these pumping pipes is large enough for a man to walk inside those pipes! Those pipes, which are high and large, are made of ductile [cast iron] which is a substance that remains unaffected by climatic conditions, soil pressure and [chemical] reactions in the soil. In addition, all these pipes were covered with insulating materials before they were buried under the ground. In addition, the company is also implementing the mechanical and electrical operations for the project."

Dr al-Bahrani went on to say, "I forgot to mention that this way of building huge tanks is not traditional, as is known. That is, they will not be built at a high elevation on top of the ground. These tanks will be concrete surface tanks that will be supported by underground support columns. All installations for the project have had underground support columns. The total [number of] concrete support columns for the project amounted to about 45,000; 25,000 of them are at the purification center and 2,000 are at the tanks. The total quantities of reinforced concrete used in the project amounted to about half a million cubic meters: 300,000 cubic meters were used in the purification center, and 200,000 were used in the tanks and systems. The total area of (blocks) that have to be implemented amounted to about 1 million cubic meters. We used 63,000 tons of reinforcing iron for the project, buried under about 1 million cubic meters of soil. All this was done directly by Iraqis, with the exception of the reinforced support columns or the [cement] pouring operations for the tanks. These operations were turned over to the Public Company for Support Columns and Foundations; it too is a company that is affiliated with the socialist sector."

#### The Needs of the City of Baghdad

In order to become fully informed about all the technical sequences that are vital to the implementation of the project, AL-THAWRAH went to the building of the Baghdad Water Department where it met with Dr 'Adnan Jabru, general manager of the department. He too spoke about the impact this project will have in meeting the needs of the city of Baghdad for pure, drinking water.

Dr 'Adnan Jabru said, "Quite frankly it became evident that we had to think of building this project in order to put an end to the obvious shortage in the water

supply to both the old as well as the new areas of Baghdad. This shortage is a result of the major expansion and development that are taking place in Baghdad. Such development always indicates that something new is afoot. We thought about laying water distribution systems according to the most modern specifications. The project was designed to meet the needs of the city until the year 2000. At the present time the Water Department has seven projects in different areas of Baghdad. The discharge capacity of these projects amounts to 1 million cubic meters, whereas the number of people in Baghdad at the present time is about 3.5 million. According to the World Health Organization, water allocations per person amount to half a cubic meter a day. This includes the water required for industry, public services and the fire department. Thus, Baghdad alone would need about 2 million cubic meters of water [a day]. This figure reflects the severe shortage of pure water that affects some areas of Baghdad. In addition, the city of Baghdad needs to have 30,000 cubic meters of water in storage along with the city's water system which was built in 1924. If we were to add the water purification capacity of al-Karakh water project, which amounts to about 1,350,000 cubic meters, to the water purification capacity of the other projects, the needs of the entire city of Baghdad for sanitary drinking water will be met until the year 2000. There will be no interruptions in water service in any area of Baghdad since water purification capacity will exceed 2 million cubic meters, and this figure reflects the actual needs of Baghdad for potable water. This water will be made available through a network of pipes, all of which are of ductile [cast iron]. These pipes will remain suitable for transporting water for scores of years to come."

Dr Jabru added, "This project will furnish water to all of al-Karakh. It will be linked with the water systems of al-Rasafah by means of tunnels that run under the Euphrates River, in case there is a need to transport water from and to al-Rasafah. This project alone will meet the needs of 2.5 million out of 3.5 million persons who make up almost all the population of Baghdad. This [assessment] is based on a per capita consumption figure of 0.5 cubic meters a day."

With regard to the role of the department in implementing some parts of the project, Dr Jabru added that the Water Department had prepared the preliminary designs for the project and all project specifications as well. He said that work on the project had begun early in 1981.

The department is now implementing secondary water systems for the original water system; the diameters of [these pipes] are 100, 150 and 200 millimeters. The department prepared detailed maps of what it is doing to pinpoint the paths of the water carrying pipes. It did so after reconsidering the preliminary designs. This is a result of the fact that the old secondary systems, which are about 1,100 kilometers long, are being replaced by a modern, computer-designed system that will transport water from the purification tanks of this monumental project for purifying drinking water. This project which was designed according to the most modern sanitary principles in the world. One feature of the project, a feature that is being done for the first time in the country is the addition of preliminary sedimentation basins that consist of two sets. The capacity of each is 450,000 cubic meters a day. When water rushes into the two sets of sedimentation tanks, each of which consists of six tanks, chemicals that aid the sedimentation process are added. Then water is pumped into a ground tank. In this manner, the effects of low and high levels of water and mud particles will be

completely eliminated since the principal function of these preliminary tanks will be to purify the water or allow the mud in the water to settle before water is pumped into the ground tank where sterilizing substances and other substances are added in preparation for pumping the water into the water carrying systems. In addition, there is an automatic control system which controls water pumping [operations]. This too is being introduced into the country for the first time and in this project in particular. Data will be analyzed by the organization at a central control location where the information will be received and analyzed by computer. The information will then be sent to parts of the organization as the need arises. The department did not stop there. It has another share in implementing this project. "It is confined," as Dr Jabru said, "to supervision, ensuring precision and design."

The Water Department has tried to alleviate the grave effects of the water shortage in some areas. The measures it has taken in the context of providing immediate remedies include expanding the purification capacity of the 7 April Water Project to 900,000 cubic meters a day. The Water Department also established new projects and built purification tanks in the areas of al-Dawrah, al-Jadiriya, al-Taji and other areas.

With the continued support of Mr Samir Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahab, the superintendent of the capital's secretariat, the Water Department boldly set out to implement a new water system to replace the old system that was implemented as far back as 1920. At that time that system was implemented for a certain area of the capital. Now it does not meet modern pumping requirements, and in many cases it can no longer transport and distribute water properly. With an optimistic smile Dr Jabru indicated, "Never before has more than 1 million meters of water carrying pipes been replaced in the capital in a record period of time of no more than 2.5 years without having this affect the continued delivery of drinking water to [different] parts of the capital. Implementation of that system required employees of the Water Department to exert themselves the whole day, not to mention the fact that the maps for the old systems had been lost and the pipes themselves had become obsolete underground in places that cannot be identified with sufficient accuracy. But this may be the subject of another talk."

8592

CSO: 4404/12

BREAKDOWN OF AGRICULTURAL SUPPLIES EXPORTS REPORTED

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 26 Sep 83 p 19

[Article: "Agricultural Supplies Exports Reach \$680 Million; Fertilizer Exports--\$260 Million; Pesticides--\$150 Million; Irrigation Equipment--\$95 Million; Rubber and Plastics--\$60 Million"]

[Text] Agricultural supplies exports, including fertilizers, pesticides--agricultural equipment and plants, were hardly affected by the decline of the world market and last year reached \$680 million, similar to the exports of 1981.

The agricultural supplies exports include the following: irrigation equipment--\$95 million; farm machinery--\$25 million; pesticides--\$150 million; rubber and plastic products--\$60 million; fertilizers--\$260 million; seeds and plants--\$15 million; veterinary drugs--\$35 million; transfer of knowhow--\$40 million.

The Ministry of Agriculture is now considering steps for increasing agricultural supplies exports, especially in light of the serious decline in the exports of fresh agricultural produce. Officials of the ministry believe that Israel has good chances of expanding its exports of agricultural equipment in view of its technological achievements in the development of agriculture.

Prof Shemu'el Pihorilis, head of the Economic Development Authority in the Ministry of Agriculture, said that in view of Israel's advantages in technology, it is desirable to fund the development of markets for agricultural supplies exports. At present Israeli exports go to the U.S. (25 percent), Western Europe (25 percent), and Africa, South America and Australia (50 percent).

Our correspondent adds that early next month the Agritech 83 fair will open in Tel Aviv at the Fair Center. It will be open during 3-6 October, and will represent 500 Israeli companies which manufacture agricultural equipment. The previous fair 2 years ago included 400 companies.

Rafi Rimon, head of the mechanization and technology section of the Ministry of Agriculture, who serves as chairman of the fair, reported that this year hundreds of clients will come to the fair from abroad, mainly from Italy, France, Portugal, Germany, Mexico, Cyprus, Great Britain, Holland, Belgium, Canada, India, and the Philippines.

9565

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## LIBERAL PARTY SAID FACING SPLITS

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 19 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Sarah Honig]

[Text] TEL AVIV--Likud circles yesterday spoke of a de facto split in the Liberal Party or of its imminent demise. The Liberals, meanwhile, still smarting over their failure to win the finance portfolio and energetically trading recriminations, started girding for the looming battle over the Foreign Ministry.

In some Liberal quarters, there is faint hope that when Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir spoke of compensating the party, he meant giving it the Foreign Ministry, which at present is still under his care. He is expected to delegate the portfolio within the next two or three months, however, a fact which is already causing tensions in the Likud, but especially within the feuding Liberal wing.

Two Liberals already have their eye on the portfolio--Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i and Knesset Speaker Menahem Savidor; but Deputy Prime Minister David Levy of Herut must be reckoned as a powerful contender for the post.

The battle over the Foreign Ministry may well mark the formal end of the Liberal Party as a single political entity, it is thought in the Likud.

Savidor is one of the Liberal "gang of four," which also includes MKs Yitzhak Berman, Dror Zeigerman and Dan Tichon, and which is seeking separate factional status in the Likud. The four demand the portfolio, by claiming their right as a faction with four MKs which is not represented in the cabinet. Their reaction, if they are turned down, cannot be predicted, coalition sources warned yesterday.

Moda'i may be even further thwarted by rivals among the remaining 13 Liberal MKs, who do not wish to see his reputation enhanced to a point that he may be elevated to a position of leadership in the party.

At the same time, circles close to Levy were issuing reports yesterday to the effect that Shamir had already promised the foreign affairs portfolio to the deputy premier. They said that when the two were competing for the

premiership, they reached an agreement whereby the loser in the contest would be able to choose whichever portfolio he wished in the new government. Levy made it clear that his choice is Shamir's foreign affairs portfolio, to enable him to gain some experience in international politics, an asset he needs when he next seeks the leadership of Herut.

Another Liberal failure, should Shamir be fully committed to Levy or because of internal Liberal feuds, would bring the Liberal Party to inevitable formal division, it was said yesterday.

In such an eventuality, it was thought that the rebellious foursome would go one way, Moda'i's faction of five MKs would constitute another splinter, and the remaining eight Liberal MKs might also split in several directions.

One Moda'i supporter, MK Benny Shalita, proposed yesterday that the Liberal faction officially declare the party's death and that it implement many decisions reached in the past to unify the Likud into a single entity. Zeigerman said something along the same lines when he suggested that those of the Liberal Party who want to join Herut should do so; and the rest should see to it that they run on a separate ticket in the next elections. "The Liberal Party has ceased to exist," he said, "and the Likud is now Herut, which anyway brings the votes. The Liberals have no ideology and no voters--only their leaders' passion for cabinet seats."

Not all Liberals, it was said yesterday, were unhappy over the failure to win the Finance Ministry. Some groups were glad their political foes did not get it. Moda'i's supporters were blaming Industry and Trade Minister Gideon Patt of having sabotaged Moda'i's bid, while Patt heatedly denied this. The maverick four were also charged with responsibility for foiling Moda'i and/or Patt. They in turn blamed Patt and Moda'i for having put spokes in each other's wheels.

Asher Wallfish adds: Former energy minister Yitzhak Bermand said yesterday that he would not run on the Likud electoral list in the next elections.

"But if some central electoral bloc is formed to contest the elections, I shall give it my support," Berman said. He did not commit himself to founding such a list himself.

He said the Likud had failed to do anything at all to implement the demands of the Liberal Party in the social and economic spheres. "The Likud moved steadily to the left since it took over in 1977, and now it lies somewhere between Labour and Mapam," he said with total sincerity. "Instead of the free enterprise society which we all pledged to work for in the Liberal Party, we have the Likud working for state ownership, leading to totalitarianism, and the freedoms of the individual in the social and economic spheres are being trampled upon."

Berman noted official statistics, which showed that only 13.5 per cent of gainfully employed persons are self-employed, while in 1977, before the Likud took over, the self-employed accounted for 15.2 per cent. "And Labour sold



three times more state corporations in the six years before the 1977 elections than the Likud since," he said.

"The only time the Liberals come awake is when a cabinet seat becomes free," he said.

Stressing that the three other Liberals who recently demanded a national unity government along with him, were not joining him just now in abjuring membership in the next Likud list, Berman said he would not use his vote to pull the present government down.

"An alternative government would be no more effective than the present one, nor would it implement liberal programmes. The only government worth working for would be a national unity coalition," he said.

Berman said that on all other issues in the Knesset which do not upset the coalition majority, he will exercise his vote freely.

CSO: 4400/44

TREATMENT OF ABUHATZIRA SEEN AS LENIENT

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 21 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by Aryeh Rubinstein: "Verdict on the Knesset"]

[Text] A CIVIL SERVANT does not get paid if he has been jailed for a crime; in fact, he is lucky to keep his job. But Tami leader Aharon Abuhatzzeira, who was convicted of stealing from a charity fund, will continue receiving his Knesset salary (plus car allowance and per diem) during the three months of "outside work" he is doing in lieu of imprisonment.

This is one result of the decision of the Knesset House Committee this week, "taking note" of Abuhatzzeira's letter to chairman Eitan Livni stating ("categorically," as Livni puts it) that he would not attend any Knesset or committee session until he completes his sentence.

Under a law passed by the Knesset in April 1981, the committee, at the request of a single MK, could have voted to suspend the former minister's Knesset membership for the period of his sentence. (If it had done so, his place would have been filled temporarily by the next in line on the Tami list.) The same law authorizes the Knesset, by a two-thirds majority of its total membership, to oust a member who has been sentenced to a year or more in jail.

The motion "taking note" was made by Alignment members Dov Zakin and Yossi Sarid. Asked why they had not called for Abuhatzzeira's suspension, Sarid says that a motion to suspend the Knesset convict would not have carried, and that the important thing is that he stays away from the Knesset. Sarid considers the salary question unimportant.

OF COURSE, the salary is not the issue, but the committee's softness is another step in what Israel Landres in Davar so aptly described as Abuhatzzeira's "de facto rehabilitation."

The first step in voiding the moral significance of Abuhatzzeira's conviction and sentencing was taken by the court itself, when it deferred for several weeks the date on which he would begin serving his sentence.

During that borrowed time, politicians from both major parties curried his favour and the hero of the story carried on his political wheeling and dealing as if nothing had happened.

Deputy Knesset Speaker Meir Cohen-Avidov told a Galei Zahal interviewer that Abuhatzzeira's embezzlement and breach of trust was "not a real theft...We have to apply different norms to different communities."

Alignment Knesset faction chairman Moshe Shahal had talks with the Tami leader about his party's joining a Peres-led government. Reports that Shimon Peres gave the word to Alignment MKs to refrain from commenting on the case have been denied. But if it wasn't Peres, it was some other Alignment figure. What other explanation is there for the apathy of the Alignment faction on the subject?

The three Tami votes that the Likud was determined to hold led it to fawn over Abuhatzzeira even more. "We'll mollify Tami, coalition leaders hope" was a headline on August 25. And Likud faction chief Ronnie Milo, asked by a radio interview whether Abuhatzzeira ought to come to the Knesset to vote for the Shamir government, replied:

"Well, frankly, I need every vote I can get."

The reporter persisted. Would he advise Abuhatzzeira that it would be in bad taste for him to show up at the Knesset.

"No," replied Milo. "That is a question for the man to decide for himself."

During this period, too, reporters swooped around Abuhatzzeira when he left this meeting or that. And, to cap it all, the convict was duly received by President Chaim Herzog as head of the Tami delegation, and expressed his views on whom Herzog should ask to form a government.

THEN CAME the decision of the Tel Aviv Police Commander Avraham Turgeman to allow Abuhatzzeira to do clerical work at the Beit Dagan police base storehouse instead of being confined to jail. And, then, to top it, came the great man's brazen "reporting for duty" in his chauffeur-driven Peugeot--not just to the gate but to the storehouse itself.

At that point, the only thing left that might persuade the public that Abuhatzzeira had not been convicted on a mere technicality--as they may well have been led to believe by the VIP treatment he was getting--but that he had done something morally repugnant and a blot on the Knesset, was his suspension by the House Committee.

HIS OWN PROMISE--self-inspired or suggested to him by a friendly Likudnik--to shun the Knesset premises for three months is no substitute for a suspension imposed by the committee. It is one more link in the chain in which a convicted embezzler has been permitted to make his own rules.

Every committee member is well aware of the difference. And Livni's waving of Abuhatzzeira's "categorical" promise--"in writing," it is emphasized--is nothing but a smokescreen to conceal the committee's reluctance to act.

In her summation before the district court, District Attorney Sara Sirota said: "If a public figure like Abuhatzzeira is not sent to prison, then jail sentences cannot be demanded for run-of-the-mill offenders."

Sirota apparently made her point. But this mail sentence de luxe is surely not what she had in mind. It makes a mockery of the judicial process.

THE COMMITTEE'S kid-glove treatment of Abuhatzzeira stands in sharp contrast to its behaviour in the only other case it has dealt with since the passage of the 1981 law--that of Samuel Flatto-Sharon.

Flatto, it will be recalled, was convicted in April 1981 of election bribery and sentenced to nine months in jail. The very next day Shahal and Sarid requested the then committee chairman, Moshe Meron (Likud-Liberals), to take up the question of his suspension.

"The Knesset is not interested," Meron said, "in permitting members against whom a criminal sentence is pending to continue to function as members of the Knesset."

And the committee, by a 10-4 vote, did suspend him. (The High Court of Justice overturned the committee's decision and ruled that an MK cannot be suspended until a final verdict is handed down in a criminal case. Flatto's appeal was then pending before the Jerusalem District Court. After that court sustained the original verdict and sentence, he appealed to the Supreme Court, where it is still pending.)

Commenting on the committee's action, we wrote in these columns on May 25, 1981:

"What bothers me is whether the House Committee would have acted as it did--and with such relish--if the MK involved had been anyone but Flatto.

"Not only does Flatto not belong to any long-established party, large or small, but he has remained an outsider during his four years in the Knesset. So it did not take much bravery for 10 House Committee members (five of them from the Alignment) to display their own righteousness."

The double standard adopted by the committee is shamefully clear. What counts is not what you have done but who you are--and whether you can be of use to the political parties concerned. Not a government of law, but a government of men.

The law must be changed. The Knesset has proved that in this matter, as in some other quasi-judicial and quasi-executive powers it possesses, it is the last body that can be trusted to make objective decisions.

An MK's suspension or ouster should be decided by the same court that has convicted him. It should be an integral part of the sentence (e.g., three months in jail and suspension from the Knesset, or three months in jail, period).

The Knesset has forfeited any claim to make such decisions by itself.

PRESENT CRISIS, FUTURE OPTIONS FOR MOSHAV MOVEMENT VIEWED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 27 Sep 83 pp 12-14

[Article: "The Moshav at the Crossroads--What Will Be its Future Image? A Colloquium To Summarize First 50 Years of Moshav Movement and Look at the Future Was Organized by the Moshav Secretariat at Close of Fiftieth Conference of the Movement, Against Backdrop of Current Economic and Social Crisis in Many Moshavim; There Were 17 Discussants Who Voiced Opinions and Reactions in Two Rounds; The Following Is a Summary of the Discussions; The Discussants Were (in order of participation): Mara Ozilevsky, Efrayim Shalom, Yitzhaq Nehemya, Re'uven Eiland, Israel Harel, Avraham Ben-Me'ir, Ariq Nehemqin, Rina Dotan, Simha Asaf, Ya'aqov Cohen, Yehezqel Zakai, Nisim Luzzatto, Shay Ben-Eliyahu, Moshe Salomon, Eli Cohen, Nahum Gantz, Amos Hadar; Moderator: Teddy Prois"]

[Text] Mara Ozilevsky: A Fundamental Change in the Agricultural-Organizational Concept

The first thing to emphasize is that our problem in the moshavim is not only economic. One can make a living in the moshav as well as in a development town like Qiryat Gat. Our problem is not only to help a member of Nogah make a living, but to offer a different answer from the one given to a Jew in Qiryat Gat--the combining of the economic and the social aspects. If we separate the two issues and only speak about the economic question, then the State of Israel does not have to give a different answer to a member of Nogah and a resident of Qiryat Gat. If it is important for the State of Israel that agricultural settlements survive, the answer for Nogah has to be different from the answer to Qiryat Gat, and this seems to me to be the main problem.

The present government policy is uncongenial toward the rural sector of Israel, and this makes life difficult for settlers, especially the weaker ones.

The serious crisis Nogah and other settlements of its kind are undergoing is a disaster for the entire country. The public fails to realize how important such social cells are, which are capable of establishing their existence on a foundation of social values, and not merely on economic considerations. If indeed they are important, the state should take care of them and even pamper them, since such pampering contributes to the entire society.

At the same time, there is no denying the fact that we have a real problem in the moshavim in regard to dealing with changing conditions in Israel and the decline or disappearance of the important values which are the true foundation of smallholders' moshav or any other agricultural settlement. The moment the moshav ceases to operate as a moshav it becomes like any other form of settlement anywhere in Israel, and is to be treated like any other member of Israeli society.

I believe that the only chance of our surviving as mosha'niks lies in our ability to give genuine answers to changing conditions.

If anyone disagrees with the term pampering, let me say it in a different way: A positive attitude toward the voluntary cooperative cells which exist in this country and are willing to base their life on certain values and struggle with those things which Israeli society is not willing to struggle with. If this is important to the State of Israel, the the government should not only stop being hostile toward them, but encourage them. Not with money or aid, but by stopping undermining them, since present policy undermines them. A government which is hostile in its ideology makes life difficult for those cooperatives, for those ideological cells, to continue to exist. This is what I am challenging.

Let me say it clearly: I don't believe salvation will come to the moshavim from the Israeli Government--not this one or any other one, unless we learn how to organize in such a way that government aid will ensure our existence in the long run. If such aid only helps us overcome the present crisis, and if we are not prepared to face the next crisis, we are not going to last. In other words, government aid only makes sense if it helps us through crisis periods and enables us to operate as a social group which can address the legitimate socioeconomic problems of the smallholders' moshav.

The family farm today requires a change. If we do not bring about this change, it will happen by itself in a unplanned way and will bring about a state of affairs which today's policy makers are seeking.

This process can be positive, if the association can find an answer for those who have given up the means of production. If the present processes in the family farm require a larger and more specialized farm, instead of a mixed farm, the agricultural means of production should be put in the hands of a smaller number of farmers.

If there is no agriculture, then we turn to industry, namely, all the means of production which are not agricultural, such as industries, tourism, etc.

Moreover, we are not using some of the means of agricultural production because we have not planned properly to make sure they remained in our hands. Some of the moshavim have lost their dairy-farming not out of choice but because in many instances the association was not able to provide the kind of service which could ensure the continued cultivation of dairy-farming, either financial or organizational. When the moshav cannot provide the right answers, then it is bound to lose certain types of production.

The agricultural-organizational concept must undergo a change--from a small private individualistic farm with a low level of partnership, to a larger specialized farm with a higher level of partnership, otherwise we have no right to exist.

The real question is what kind of a movement are we. A moshav which is not prepared and not capable or willing to deal with these questions, should be confronted with the question of its belonging to us. Is it possible that some members should talk about change, about organizing, about a higher level of partnership, while others are saying that the Arab village is their model? Here lies the true problem of the moshav movement. Where is the control system which makes sure that ours is a movement with social values, and not just an economic body or a trade association?

Much has been said in the past about the possibility of a split in the moshav movement, for ethnic and leadership reasons. Now, in 1983, it seems to me that it is nonsense to think of a split in the moshav movement because of the question who will be the secretary. If there is going to be a split, it will be between those who are moshavim and those who are no longer moshavim. I am not afraid of such a split, because it will happen--and I sincerely hope it won't happen--over the issue whether this movement remains a movement or not, and the State of Israel will not lose out as a result of such a struggle.

Efrayim Shalom: We Have a Way To Overcome the Crisis

The root of the crisis can be found in those moshavim which did not have a broad economic basis, a variety of branches, and were pushed by the government and the settlement institutions to do agricultural exporting, especially in 1978-79. Such moshavim have made large investments in export crops and then did not get government aid in time and after the government reneged on its commitments and inflation worsened, their investments cost them much more than anticipated.

The two things combined; on the one hand the money arrived late and the farms took expensive loans which caused financial difficulties, and on the other hand the lateness of payments forced the moshavim to pay high interest and the money was not sufficient for the investments.

Until 1976-77 agricultural exports were at the top of the list of priorities in terms of profitability. For lack of an alternative--since we are limited in the domestic market--it was the only way for many moshavim to survive. No doubt the settlers wanted it, especially when they did not have other alternatives. Large investments were made in 1978-79, when we had the big crisis in the cut flowers line. Some of the flower growers gave up this line while others who continued did so poorly that in the past 2 years they too had to give it up.

No doubt those moshavim which were much stronger and had a better foundation with a better variety in addition to exports were able to weather the crisis.



Now that some of the moshavim are undergoing a crisis we ought to look at the total picture from its inception.

During the fifties, the time of the mass immigration from Iraq, Morocco, Yemen, Iran, Kurdistan, Poland and Romania, Jews lived in newcomer camps and the country was barren, hungry for a tomato and an eggplant, and one could barely provide milk and egg powder for babies, and chicken was brought frozen from Holland and rationed.

The leaders of the labor movement--Ben-Gurion, Eshkol, Sapir, Hertzfeld, Kadish Luz--were fired up with vision and faith and took some of the immigrants from the camps and established new settlements, from Avivim in the Galilee to Nevatim in the Negev.

Immigrants without professional training or agricultural or cooperative experience were settled and were expected to become farmers. During that decade, until the year 1960, the land and the people were being prepared for agriculture, on a most limited basis. In effect, this settlement has been in active existence since the early sixties. It turned the land from a wilderness to a blooming garden, from scarcity to unparalleled plenty. All year long we have vegetables and fruits, milk and meat and eggs. The same moshavim in Lakhish and in the Negev which today are undergoing a crisis were the suppliers of vegetables and flowers for Europe and the best source of dollars for the state.

Former merchants and white collar workers became successful farmers. We should be proud of it, even if there are politicians who saw the seeds of separation and hatred and harp on feelings of discrimination. We have no inferiority complex and no feelings of discrimination.

Some 250 moshavim were established during the first decade of the state. The moshav movement, with its 50 veteran moshavim, absorbed the mass immigration and established 170 immigrant moshavim. Many from the old moshavim came to the aid of the new moshavim. It is to our credit that our movement, which today is assailed and defamed because of the crisis in agriculture, did one of the great deeds in the history of this state, by integrating newcomers from dozens of countries and Israeli natives, an unparalleled integration.

No one should feel ashamed of this accomplishment, and we can only wish that other national sectors--industry and construction and education--may experience a similar success, in which 90 percent of the beginners succeeded, and only 10 percent--all good Jews, Zionists and workers--did not make a go of agriculture. To take the 10 percent and use them as a symbol for all the rest is an irresponsible act which should not take place.

During the 6 years since 1977 everything has collapsed, as if nothing existed. This did not happen by accident, but because of incorrect economic decisions by people whose outlook in the area of agriculture and settlement is different from ours. We should know the data of the past 6 years: agricultural output grew an average of 8 percent per year, and if we exclude capital, productivity and efficiency--only 5 percent. Any country can be proud of such figures, and we can only wish that all sectors have grown at such a rate.

There is a way of overcoming the crisis in agriculture. The basic requirements are: to return to a sane policy of encouraging exports; bring back new growth in agriculture; protect agricultural production against growing imports; return to comprehensive planning in agriculture; to effect a government conversion in those failed agricultural investments which are the result of government policies.

From an economic-agricultural standpoint these are the setbacks which in my opinion can rehabilitate the fallen and strengthen the weak. It is not only the struggle of farmers. It is the struggle for the image of Israeli society. Of true Zionism. It is a struggle against phalanxes and polarization, a struggle for creating a productive people in Israel. It is a struggle for the way and the quintessence of the labor movement.

I believe that the bankruptcy of the moshavim is really the bankruptcy of the State of Israel. I disagree that only the organizational aspect is the problem. The main problem of the moshavim is economic, and the movement we resolve the economic problems there will be organization, since one cannot be well organized with unresolved economic problems. A moshav with such problems will not continue to exist after a while.

The main problem of our moshavim, especially the ones established since the birth of the state, has always been the means of production. I am truly glad that in the sixties and up to the middle seventies the question of the means of production was wisely dealt with in Israel.

There were ministers of agriculture whose top priority was the agricultural viability of the moshavim. When Dayan was minister of agriculture he argued that agriculture should be given back to the farmers. He returned to the moshavim some of the means of productions, and when he realized it was not enough and it was necessary to resolve the problem of the surplus, he focused on production for export. He sought to introduce the Moneymaker tomato as an export item as the right step for strengthening the moshavim economically. Without economic reinforcement, the moshavim could not survive as moshavim.

But it seems to me that the main problem of the moshavim began after the Six Day War, which socially was a great disaster for us. Until that time we lived in the moshavim from our labor and we were willing to make do with little. And the fact is that until 1967 our moshavim survived despite all the hardships, which undoubtedly existed. It is well known that in the early sixties many of the moshavim suffered economically, but they guarded the asset we call moshav, were willing to make do with little and waited for better days. After the Six Day War all this changed.

A salient example of this is organized marketing and mutual guarantees. Some are arguing today that the moshavim did not have either, and this is not true. The members of the old moshavim taught the new moshavim in the early fifties about mutual help and organized marketing. Without those two we would not have the assets we have today. I remember the discussion in the moshav movement when we established the first dunam of hot house and we had to provide a loan of 12,000 pounds. There was debate on whether we should give a mutual guarantee of 12,000 pounds, which seemed to be an enormous sum of money. But the

fact is, huge investments for development and expansion were made in those moshavim on the basis of mutual guarantees.

Today we should put the emphasis on both areas--economic and social. We should come to the aid of those moshavim which can be helped in regard to the values of the moshav movement, and if a certain smallholders' moshav tells us that it no longer wishes to be a moshav, we should have nothing to do with it. If someone comes to us and says, "We no longer want to be a moshav, we do not want the movement, we do not want the cause," so, please, leave us. I don't think we should keep anyone by force.

#### Re'uven Eiland: Five Answers for Shaping the Moshav of the Future

I do not understand why we should be apologetic in dealing with the issue of developing exports. There has been a government policy which was quite acceptable to the movement and also to the moshavim to go in the direction of agricultural exports as the response of the moshavim to other processes in agriculture, which are no different from the ones taking place in the kibbutz. The kibbutz solved those problems by turning to industry, while the moshav decided--and I believe it was the right policy--to go to labor, capital and technology-oriented agriculture which would result in the intensification of moshav production, overcome the shortage of land and water (which were typical of that era), and ensure an income in keeping with the interests of the state and the individual farmer. We are very proud of this concept and the fact that it has led us today to a deadend alley is the result of the misleading and harmful policy of the government, which can be seen mainly in the 5 year delay in the rate of exchange compared to the rate of inflation, which affects industry at a later date. Thus, the public awareness of the economic situation only began 1-2 years ago. Agriculture, because of the higher added value of its exports was affected by this process earlier and the impact is much stronger, after 5 years of continuous delay in the rate of exchange.

Here we come to the topic of agricultural planning, which should be regarded as the cornerstone of the existence of agriculture in a state with such scattered settlements, which has a national objective to settle the Jordan Valley, the 'Aravah, the Negev and Lakhish and every other place, and no concentrate in large farms. The need for planning that takes these factors into account is vital, and it should dictate not only the assessment but also the solution.

First of all in this area we need growing production units, which is a process we cannot stop, since it stems from a positive development--increase in productivity. Anyone who wants to have five cows in 1984 or 1990 is a dreamer.

Second, one should take into account that while the production units may grow, the local market does not grow in direct relation to technological developments.

Third, after examining the crisis in agricultural production, I cannot regard it as a passing crisis. This crisis is part of the policy which affects anyone who tries to produce for export, and there is no indication that this policy is going to change.

Fourth, the growth around us vis-a-vis our shrinkage or attrition. The growth is seen in other types of settlements and non-settlement bodies, which know how to use agricultural technology under better conditions than ours, and which at the same time have developed great industrial power. They build their foundation on the basis of research and development and marketing and buying supplies and equipment for this industry. They are better equipped than we are to establish a system for decisionmaking which benefits their members, despite the conflict of interests among them, which are similar to ours, among regions, farms, individuals, etc. All the above give them such power that we have to ask ourselves what our answers are in this area.

I believe our answers total five. Two are strictly conventional, and three represent a departure from our own concept. The first of the two conventional ones has to do with performance, administration level, organizational level, the level of our capacity to live in an organized community. We have problems in this area, although I must reiterate that if over 30 years ago the moshav movement undertook a first rate national task and if today, after hundreds of moshavim have been established we have a serious problem at the most in 30-40 moshavim, we should consider it an unusual success. The solution should come from what takes place in the hundreds of moshavim which are doing well.

The second conventional answer is avoiding wasting the special potential of the moshav by proper use of the organizations which we have established and which in effect should serve us and ensure our economic strength.

Now the three answers which represent a turning point in our concept. First, we have to raise the level of cooperation among us--both in production and in the branches in which it is necessary and beneficial to have regional cooperation, so that the four or five moshav members who deal with a certain line in each moshav can work together in the proper way through larger and more efficient production units.

Second, introducing new lines of production to the moshav--fine industries, light industries, vacation and tourist industries, services, anything people can make a living from and continue to stay on the moshav. If the problem were only economic, we could have solved it in Qireyat Gat, 'Afulah and Ra'anana.

The problem is how to keep our economic strength and the social structure of the moshav qua moshav, when there is a concern that more and more of our members may only regard the moshav as their place of residence.

Third, the mobility of the means of production, in order to create the physical possibilities which are necessary for the existence of the farm while preserving the rights of the moshav member on the basis of land and water, or other means of production, through equal quotas. I believe that keeping this principle should not be affected by the temporary use of land and water and other means of productions by others, who must live from agriculture. We have the right to make this demand when the community makes sure that each member earns at least as much as what industry may bring in under the auspices of the community, or the association. These are the five solutions, and the big question is whether we can do these things.

## Israel Harel: The Properly Run Moshav Has the Right To Exist

Everyone knows that agriculture is the export line with the highest added value, which means that from the standpoint of the state it is the sector in which every export dollar brings the state the highest return, since, for one thing, the dollar does not cost as much as it should, and for another, expenses go up without any relation. If we deal with the income from agriculture, we should take into account not only the slow pace of the dollar, but also the difference between the value of the dollar and the level of local expenses, namely, the expenses for the production of each dollar. This is a significant point and because of it agriculture is affected much sooner than industry, especially since Israeli exports are predicated on European currencies, especially the agricultural exports, which makes things difficult for us in terms of profitability.

We are facing, then, an objective problem of national impact on agriculture for the above reasons, but at the same time we will not be honest with ourselves if we did not admit that we should consider our own internal organization and management. No doubt we have to fight external factors and do all we can to salvage agriculture, not only for the farmers' benefit but also for the benefit of the state. But we cannot forget the campaign we need to launch internally.

The question is, first of all, does the moshav have the right to exist. I believe that the moshav has both an economic and a social right to exist. The fact is that a moshav that has been managed as a moshav, as most of us understand the term, is a successful entity, more or less; while another moshav with the same means of production which does not operate on the same socio-economic basis fails.

Since we all recognize the advantage of a moshav, it is necessary to stimulate it and develop it so that it can make the most of its advantage. Accumulated experience shows that the use of this advantage stems from the very existence of the association.

At the same time, if we discuss whether a certain moshav should or should not be part of the movement, we should bear in mind that we are an ideological movement, we are all interested in having as many members as possible. But, only up to a certain limit. Binyamina--no; in other words, if Binyamina would seek admission to the moshav movement we would say no. The question is, if Binyamina were a member of the moshav movement, should its membership continue or not. I would simply say, if Binyamina were a member of the moshav movement, it would have nothing to look for among us.

This has to do with hired work or Arab work. Many people outside the moshavim make their living today from agriculture. No doubt, if the same work force remained inside the moshav, the situation today would be different. Therefore I am saying a simple thing; if a moshav gives land and water to outside elements, or makes unauthorized use of land or water, it cannot remain in the same movement. This is a nationalist-Zionist decision, and should be presented and explained as such.

Avraham Ben-Me'ir: The Moshavim Which Will Save Themselves Will Contribute to the State

I wouldn't say that a small farm cannot overcome crises. In my opinion, a small farm cannot function efficiently even if it does not undergo a crisis. That is, if it had to function when there was no crisis, when the present government policy does not exist, there is no dollar rate problem, etc. even then its very solitary existence outside the association would create a crisis. We know Israeli moshavim which are 50 and 60 years old which do not function in a way we consider to be the right one and have had a continuous crisis for 50-60 years.

Therefore, today's test does not only apply to a time of crisis. This size can no longer exist either here or anywhere in the rest of the world. In other countries—it should never happen here--the farmers were swallowed up by giant companies. Here the farmers can either form their own companies, or associations, or they will go out of business.

The truth is that the rate of development of Ariq Sharon while serving as agriculture minister was much more modest than what was asked of him by the farmers and their representatives.

Still, mistakes were made which I, serving as general manager of the Ministry of Agriculture, had part in. But the mistakes we made were much smaller than what the farmers asked us to do.

In my opinion, one of the major afflictions of the moshav movement (and others) is that instead of a real solution, one shouts and pressures and finds an artificial or a short range solution. This may help the electric company workers or the El Al employees, but the moshavim are not in a position to pressure someone and find a solution. The situation in Israel is such that most solutions are artificial--not obtaining something we really have, but forcing the government to give in to whoever exerts the pressure. The moshavim cannot pressure, and should not do it. They should look for a real solution, which in my opinion is the key.

The failure to devaluate is not only the result of the last 5 years. It was with us in previous winters and the devaluation was adjusted, the rate was adjusted, but in certain months it was very difficult, especially before each season of agricultural exports.

But in my opinion this is not the main problem. The family farm of the size which was planned during the years of its formation cannot bring the income necessary under today's economic conditions.

What has happened in Israel in the last 20 years is that the technology has developed faster than the market and population growth, and one of the victims is the moshav farm. The simple question is whether the moshav, which is an extremely good instrument if properly managed, can attack issues in order to ensure its livelihood and existence. If it can, it has a right to exist; if it cannot, then nothing can help it.



The question is what goals we should have. If we have desirable and significant goals, which many of us cannot attain, then the disappointment will be as large as the expectations. I agree that the goal should be 500 moshavim in the State of Israel and that all of them should meet our expectations. But if we present the moshavim with the goal and say to them, the whole State of Israel depends on you, we fail before we start. Let us give them a much less ambitious goal--save yourselves, not the State of Israel. And if it turns out that they save themselves, through the association, through serious labor, through efficiency, through industry, etc., they too will be making a contribution to the state.

As for outside labor, no doubt we have to deal with this terrible thing of truckloads of Arab workers, but to the best of my knowledge, if the Jews do not hold on to Judaea and Samaria, the Jews will not be in the State of Israel. We all know people have run away from Qiryat Shemonah, and were about to run away from the kibbutzim as well. Hence from Tel Aviv and Ramat Gan they will run away faster. In other words, if anyone suggests we get rid of outside labor by giving up Judaea and Samaria, we will be risking our very existence.

Ariq Nehemqin: We Alone Should Deal With the Problem of Weak Moshavim

The present crisis has several causes which have merged together. First it should be pointed out that from a professional agricultural standpoint, the settlements in question have been much more successful than what was envisioned by those who conceived and established them back in the fifties. But the crisis began long before 1977. The first time there was strong criticism of what was happening in the Negev there was a pointed discussion in the press between the secretariat of the moshav movement, which thought there was a crisis in at least 17 moshavim, and those who argued the crisis was limited to 2-3 moshavim. What are the causes of the present crisis?

The first is the lack of a professional organizational system. Considering the great professional advances in agriculture, the constant rise in productivity, a first rate professional organizational system should have been established, but this has not happened to this day. I am referring to obtaining credit, bookkeeping, dealing with the tax system, proper distribution of means of production, the control of the association over marketing and production by the members. A certain truism has always applied to the moshavim: as soon as the members become stronger than the association, the moshav in question enters a crisis and may even go out of business as a smallholders' moshav as we understand it. The absence of that system has caused the first serious problem in some of our moshavim, namely, the members were stronger than the association and dominated it, instead of the other way around. When the association is strong and in charge, it does for the good moshav only what is good for its members, and there is no danger in this. But when the members dominate the system they work for their own good and not for their fellow members, and the result is negative.

A second factor of great influence can be found in the middle--between the argument that the government policy is to blame, and the argument that our



own pressure is to blame. Our pressure was incessant, and if they had listened to us at that time they would have increased production for export much more than what was planned by some government planning center. The reason for the pressure was that anyone in agricultural production felt that anything we as a movement, as moshavim, as individuals did not do now, we would not have tomorrow. In other words, today they give, and tomorrow they will stop giving, and so you apply pressure. It is like buying in the stock market. When the market goes up everyone wants to invest, and when it goes down everyone wants to get out.

After we reached the year when we believed we were on our way to having a record year of production for export, the government demands and our own needs and demands coexisted very well. We thought we could compete although we know that our domestic market was rather limited. Here the crisis started. First, the members wanted to bite off more than the moshav could eat. Second, the profitability of export production went down, both in agriculture and industry. Industry overcame it through taxation laws. But agriculture, because of its organizational structure and inability to compete at a proper level, could not resolve its difficulties through taxation and lost some of its own capital.

It should be emphasized that the production for export policy is not in the hands of heaven, but in the hands of man, and one feels at times that someone is deliberately trying to destroy the foundation beyond repair. This borders on criminality, but I think we begin to see signs of sobering up, that people are realizing that nothing is better than production for export. We do not have mines, we do not have cheap energy, we must deal with production for export in all its aspects. This kind of production, which has high added value, should be the state's pampered child and not a stepchild. If anyone thinks he can resolve this problem through a change in the organizational structure he is badly mistaken, and should stress this constantly so that no one should say later on we did not speak up.

I agree with the view that if we become a state without values that transcend the desire of people in a modern state for an easy good life, we won't have a state altogether, considering the conditions under which we live, which may have no parallel in the world.

There is a fact of life--the moshavim are made of a certain population living under a certain social and organizational structure. I cannot argue with those who through their own wisdom decide that their moshav does not want this way of life. We cannot say to them, "No, we will keep you in the moshav movement, since this is our national imperative." This would be foolish and it will be a mistake as well. We should let them go, wherever they want to go.

But this is not what happens in the moshavim. In 85 percent of the cases the weakness and the retreat and the concessions are the result of inability to deal with problems and the question is how to deal with such cases. Some say that if we set ourselves higher norms and a higher common denominator, we will reach it, and if we make no demands we will never get there, worse yet, we will reach the lowest common denominator. Theoretically, if I could for a period of time turn over the "sick" moshavim to another body--governmental,

voluntary, semi-voluntary or semi-governmental, I would willingly do it, and I would say, "We will see you in this aristocratic moshav club in 5-6 years, after you are cured." But this is impossible, since we do not have an institution in this country that can treat such cases, except for one movement--the moshav movement, with all its shortcomings, and the moshav movement alone.

The treatment of the weak "patient," who needs treatment, won't, in my opinion, harm the healthy part, since that part would not do better without the problematic part. It will be a national crime if we send the moshavim--and they are many--who cannot resolve their problems to the government, whose approach, concepts and intentions are known to all of us. No one maintains that the government knows, wants and understands our own concepts. We all agree it is a hostile body. Would we turn over to such a body the moshavim who do not want to leave, who cannot fight, who have not yet reached the goal we set 30 years ago?

Far be it from us to adopt this approach, which says that anyone who cannot keep in line and meet the demands of the moshav movement should draw his own conclusions, or else we will draw them. I recommend that if we have a good moshav in terms of its ability to deal with problems and it does not want to be a member of the moshav movement, does not want to be a smallholders' moshav as we understand it, let it leave and go its own way. But if a moshav does not make such a statement, even if it acts in such a way, no system can take care of it better than us, and we should not neglect it.

Rina Dotan: The Strength of the Movement--Its Capacity for Renewal

The answer to the question "What does the movement do in time of crisis" lies in the stock-taking we should do. It seems to me that we in Israel are a society that is forming and changing at the same time. The moshav movement is part of this society. I am stressing this point of forming and changing, because the change element gives me the opening and the chance that we ought to and can get out of the crisis we find ourselves in. If we do not give relevant answers to current problems through change, we will not pass the test.

The simultaneously changing and forming society is particularly evident in the moshav movement. This perhaps was its interesting and dynamic feature, and this may now be creating the tensions and crises. A movement, no matter how well organized--ideologically, economically, socially or organizationally--and we were far from perfect, may still face a severe test in ensuring the sustenance of a person, a family, a moshav or a region.

I consider the term bankruptcy as having a much broader meaning. This term bankruptcy, either of a person or of a moshav is shocking, and I have the notion we are not fully aware of what is happening in Lakhish or Nogah or the Galilee, since economic bankruptcy also means a serious ideological crisis. It implies in my opinion a breakdown or a reduction or a negative change in the value system in this country. We live in a state which seems to feel that after 35 years it can look down on such values as securing the borders or

settling the land or preserving the lifestyle of the moshav society. This may have social, political and economic implications we may not be aware of, which can cause a socioeconomic crisis that can destroy the moshavim.

Let us state that what Eliezer Yafeh once considered sacred and good still applies. I say that a movement is tested by being able to be innovative and address itself to current problems.

For example, we are now facing the problem of having more and more educated women, professionally trained, who want to remain at the moshav. We have to have answers for them. The answer is not always 50 cows or a flower patch or something else. Anyone who thinks that the moshav will not be based on the family unit in the future is deluding himself. The challenge is what will women do in the moshav of the future; they will expect an answer commensurate with their education, their professional training, their self expectations, and social developments.

We are not providing the right answers to the problem of the continuing generation. I am cognizant of the fact that the estate belongs to one family, and it doesn't work when two families are involved, but when I say I am willing to take a risk and be innovative, we are talking about the possibility of industry and other lines. This forces us to figure out how to take care of the continuing generation in our midst, membership in the association in one way or another. I realize I am adding another difficulty we have to deal with. I am not saying we ought to divide the estate beyond the first son, and this is not a personal problem which bothers me. I am only asking that we be patient. We are talking about problems we have to deal with, and I am raising this as a problem.

Each one of us wants a high level of partnership, a strong association, but the movement should give more thought to how to help the community and seriously consider promoting local culture, not only the education system. The level of partnership depends on the local sense of satisfaction. A person who can create his culture, his holidays and his joys and sorrows, his partnership--not only economic--feels and knows that his moshav neighbors are his partners through thick and thin throughout life, such a person will feel the [sentence incomplete].

Simha Asaf: Only a Change of Policy Will Save Agriculture

When we talk about a crisis, and indeed it is a crisis, when we look for the causes of the crisis, we should look a little farther than 1983. In my estimation, the crisis is not of the moshav system, it is not of the foundations the settlements have been built on, it is not something which requires a change in the fundamentals. Therefore we ought to examine what has caused the situation in which in 1983 the moshavim are in the headlines as bankrupt, when the bankruptcy of a moshav is not similar to the bankruptcy of a company. In Israeli and in settlement terms this is something altogether different.

If anyone tries to examine this question in total objectivity, that is, someone who is not involved in the moshav directly and is not part of the policy making process of the government, such a person may find answers which are different from the headlines. To my great regret, there are two polarities which formulate in the media the situation in the moshavim. Some say that it is all the result of government policy, and some say it is all the fault of the moshavim, who took the money from this system or another and now refuse to pay it back. They, the moshav members, have built themselves luxury homes and have created a crisis and now turn to the taxpayer to extricate them from their crisis.

All agree that production must be based primarily on the work force, and one can clearly state that there is a work force in the moshavim which wants to work, and I am not referring to hired or outside work. At the same time there is another factor, the management of the moshav or the association. In regard to management, we are having difficulties in the moshav system which stem from the moshav itself and reaches other systems.

The third factor needed to run production efficiently is the financial support system which during this inflationary period, we have not done so well with. During an inflationary period, a moshav with one agricultural crop can find itself in a deep crisis.

It is no accident that the moshav prior to 1977 or 1978 was able to exist without the term bankruptcy--and there were always difficulties--until the policy changed. I don't think that the family farm got more aid in the past than it gets today, relatively speaking. Bank of Israel data show that agriculture in the State of Israel did not get more aid during the past decade than industry.

But since the change of government we have had a government policy which does not recognize or accept responsibility for the moshavim, for agriculture, for settlements.

It is perfectly clear that the State of Israel has to turn to exports. Without exports the state cannot exist. Without exports we can only exist as long as foreign lenders remain generous. We, farmers, have a large share in the export system, but when we enter negotiations with the government--either with the Agriculture Ministry or the Finance Ministry--they do not consider themselves responsible for what takes place in the associations, in the moshavim, as was the case in the past.

When the general manager of the Finance Ministry shows up at the secretariat of the moshav movement, he says: "You and agriculture are not a political power in the State of Israel at the present. Your influence on decisionmaking bodies is marginal. I can propose to you to attach yourselves to the industrialists and argue that what industry gets agriculture should also get. This way you will get more aid."

I disagree with him. I don't think we need more aid, but the State of Israel and its agriculture certainly deserve a policy which is responsible, which does not let agriculture collapse, because the loss will be great not only to the farmers but also to the state.

I maintain that unless there is a change in which the government takes responsibility and the movement makes an effort to reexamine the movement and its organizational structure in order to rehabilitate it--from the work day of the farmer to development budgets and operating capital and the right rate--the agricultural farm has no hope and we will all lose out.

Yehezqel Zakay: Combining Means of Production and Social Mission

I do not accept the approach which argues that all of us and everything we do is all right, and only others are at fault. I am not exactly sure who those others are. Let us assume we solve the present crisis. Does that mean we do not have real serious fundamental problems? There is no crisis in the moshavim?

It is not true that since the beginning of the state, when 400 moshavim were established, as long as the settlement organization was in charge everything was all right, that everything the moshav movement did and is doing is all right, everything the purchasing bodies are doing is all right, and the only ones who are not doing the right things are the settlers of Nogah, Yatztitz, 'Otzem or Mivtahim. This is a distorted picture.

The real question is, is the crisis we are discussing today the whole thing, or is it only the tip of the iceberg. Anyone who thinks that the crisis has peaked is wrong. It is only starting. The question is, will we be able to do other things, what are they, and what body should take the lead. One should ask, is our structure as a movement and a moshav the right one, or should it be different, and do we function properly.

I say without hesitation: If we only base ourselves on agriculture for export without finding other solutions and possibilities, none of the farmers in the State of Israel have a right to exist.

I am stating another fact: We may have all the means of production and all the credit and all the money, but if we do not have organizational and social capability there is nothing we can do. In other words, production quotas, credit, wealth will not give us the organizational and social and discipline conditions we look for, but the opposite will.

It is clear to me that no one will help us if we cannot help ourselves. We have the power to do it, we have the moshav movement, we have the regional organizations, we have the regional councils, we have the moshavim--this is our strength. The question is, are we willing, are we capable? I think we are capable, and if we act wisely during this crisis, we will turn the curse into a blessing.

If we want to grapple with the problem, we have to do it without kid gloves and without hesitation. Perhaps 40-50 moshavim will fall, but at this time we should concern ourselves with those who want the moshav and want to be part of the moshav movement.

If I ask myself, is it enough that we--the moshav movement and its members--want the moshav concept, or is it necessary that the state also should want it, then I reach the conclusion that it is enough that only we should want it. This will, which does not depend on any government, is our strength.

If, after the new experiment we undertake, which would take 3-5 years, there are still moshavim which cannot get through the crisis and become viable, I will support one kind of moshavim. If there are many moshavim that wish to remain moshavim and ask the moshav movement for aid and help, not necessarily financial, the message of the moshav movement ought to be none other than: turn back the hands of the clock and start from the beginning. One should not be afraid to do it. I know what it entails and I know what difficulties await us, but this is the way to reestablish the department of training and indoctrination of the movement rather than give the moshavim total freedom in managing their own affairs. We have to regroup and retackle this issue which has caused a social crisis in the moshavim. I maintain that the crisis is much more social and organizational than economic. We will then be able to say to ourselves and to others that we did our best.

Nisim Luzzatto: Flexible Stand--According to the Condition of Each Farm

I agree that we are in a most difficult social and economic situation. What is even more difficult is that we have not yet come up with proposed solutions.

We have a difficult problem in the moshav movement and we cannot ignore it. We do not concentrate all the time on the main issue; we spend a great deal of time on side issues. In order to deal with the main issue we should not dwell on side issues. Some problems have to be resolved in the short run, or else life in some farms may become unbearable, but some problems are long range and require most careful planning. The main issue requires progressive action and adherence to the goal.

I would like to add that a moshav which can maintain all the necessary values will exist most effectively. But to my regret, many moshavim find it difficult to maintain all those good things, and the question is whether we are going to say that a moshav which is able to maintain them is with us, while a moshav which is not able to is not with us.

It is necessary and possible to take a more flexible stand, of not using the same yardstick for all the moshavim. I do not accept the view that the moshav movement should decide that all moshavim should act in one and the same way. We have to treat the moshavim according to their own needs, their individual problems, and reach temporary solutions in order to weather the crisis.

To my regret, there is a great lack of confidence these days. Why did moshav Nogah go out of business? For the sole reason that 15 members could not get the money owed them and they pressured the association registrar to disband the association so they could attack the other members and collect their money.



Moreover, in all the moshavim which are experiencing difficulties there is a common split: one third of the members are in dire straits, one third doing so so, and one third not doing so badly. The question is whether we abandon all of them or try to salvage as many members as we can. Those are the innocent members, the ones who have done all they could to produce and market through organized marketing, through the purchasing body, but this process was not managed properly in terms of organization and management.

My conclusion in this regard is that we ought to look for flexible ways to help those moshavim in the short run so that they may overcome the crisis.

Economically, I find it difficult to point at one government or another as the source of the current problems. The cut flower industry is a case in point. In 1976 we had a total of 1,500 families which made a living from cut flowers. In 1979 there were 8,000 families, and the experts maintained that we hadn't begun to scratch the surface of the European market in terms of marketing possibilities. Soon after there was a crisis in Europe, and as a result the weak ones were first to suffer, namely, those moshavim which, unless they get financial first aid as well as support and social guidance, we will lose.

Moshe Salomon: A Contributing Society, not a Welfare Society

We find ourselves in a paradoxal situation. As productivity kept going up, we became more and more specialized and the problem became most acute in remote places. As we became more specialized we focused on one area of production--this happened in the seventies and in the beginning of the eighties--and the goal was export. Right now we need alternatives which can produce income, albeit temporary. The moshav is less flexible than the kibbutz in terms of introducing new sources of income. When export was hit in remote places, which are farther away from the city--where the farmer could do outside work while trying to change his own type of production--those places were harder hit. We saw that in the Lakhish region, which was based on exports. The concept of a specialized farm was correct, but the flexibility of the farmers was much smaller and so they suffered much more than the farmers in the center of the country, where farms are also specialized, but much more flexible.

Coming to the point, we believe in the concept of the moshav, but we cannot get this message across while we are seen as a burden to the state. This is not feasible. What we want to be is a contributing body, not a welfare one.

We have to decide when a moshav ceases to be a moshav. Not only when it tells us it is no longer a moshav, but when it stops following certain principles, when it does not keep the association structure, when there is no mutual guarantees, when there is no organized marketing.

There is another principle I would like to grapple with openly: outside labor. Today's reality is such, that if we say that only self-labor is acceptable in



a moshav, we are not being realistic. There are hardly any moshavim left today which do not use outside labor--Arab or Jewish. This is both a practical and an ideological problem.

I think that the principle of equal opportunity should also be followed by the moshav, or else we are not concerned about closing the gaps. We should pursue equal opportunity. How? Possibly by making the means of production mobile, possibly by introducing new lines and means which will create additional opportunities. This is our central problem, and we ought to be realistic and adjust ourselves to present conditions.

As for the question of the association, any association which rejects the association concept and says that there is no mutual guarantee and no organized marketing, is no longer a moshav. Not so a moshav which experiences difficulties, but has a nucleus of members who uphold the principles and fight for them. Such a moshav should remain part of our movement. We should say it is ours, help it, and continue to try to solve its problems. Whenever the entire group says, "I am not part of this body, the association is not mine, this is not my idea," there the group is not ours. Here we have to draw a clear line so that we can begin the recovery process.

I think the movement ought to deal with those moshavim in a somewhat different way. The public sees us as two currents within one movement, and in many areas this is not true. We should therefore speak with one voice on this delicate issue.

I am saying this because we represent a certain current, a certain community, a certain sector within the movement.

Eli Cohen: Smallholders' Moshav--Our Way

Our central concern is what we call and what all take to mean by smallholders' moshav. We are not talking about other possibilities, because the moment something else is brought up, we are no longer interested. We always ask ourselves, what do we have to do in order to remain a smallholders' moshav in spite of all the changes.

Our present image in the Israeli public is not positive. Why? Why is this sector, which has built settlements in good faith, which persevered even when it was led to establish settlements--sometimes without knowing what it was all about--because it considered it to be a Zionist pioneering way, has now come under attack and is not viewed sympathetically?

I think it is because there were certain expectations in regard to this sector, this sector had to succeed and was not allowed to fail, and problems create an image of general failure despite the fact that after 35 years the wilderness has been conquered, the barren regions have been settled and the State of Israel controls its territory because of that settlement!

Despite everything that is now happening, the fact is that out of 400 moshavim, 300 are run as moshavim. They hold a general meeting which elects a moshav committee, the committee reaches decisions, the decisions are binding upon all members. Is it a simple thing that in each of those moshavim there are 50, 60, 70 families, most of whom were not raised in a democratic society, with those things foreign to them and yet which have become normal habits--to make decisions, pay taxes, make rules of what is permissible and what is not? It is true that there are problems and complaints, but in 400 out of 500 moshavim this is what happens, and it is a tremendous achievement.

As a result of this process we are on the defensive. This is not justified. We are an important part, a vital foundation of this state, I am talking about settlement, about the moshav. Many times we have examined the possibility of revising the principles of the moshav, what we call today rules of behavior, and we did not find another way. If we want to have a moshav, these are the rules. As long as we want a smallholders' moshav, because we realize it is important to us and to Israeli society as a unique social and productive structure, there is no other way except the one we have espoused.

If anyone differs, by all means, let him come and offer an alternative. We have not found one. We are talking today about mobility in means of production--not 5 but 50 cows, and we immediately add that this requires a higher level of cooperation. But the problem started in moshavim which ostensibly have such cooperation. One asks why we burden the members with the association and the regional structure and regional cooperation. But when we talk about the future of the moshav, we mean a higher level of cooperation. The things going on in the weaker moshavim are the type of things which the movement is unable to handle.

The moshav movement is a social movement, which has to provide guidance. The economic issues of farming should be treated at the state level. If we are dealing with a regime which recognizes the importance of this matter, things are simpler, easier, there is no discussion. But if we deal with a regime which is not aware of it, the economic problems of farming come back to us, as a movement, and we have to shoulder the responsibility.

In spite of all this, we as a movement are in favor of the continued existence of the moshav in its present form. If there are moshavim who decide they do not wish to continue this way, we should not interfere with their decision and it should be made known that the moshav movement respects their decision. Here, too, we come under fire, and we are told that we are forcing the moshavim to be part of our structure. It should therefore be clearly stated: A moshav which does not wish to belong to us has the right not to belong.

Ya'akov Cohen: Find a Way not To Disband Moshavim

No doubt the agricultural economic policy, if such exists, has a decisive influence over the decline of a large number of moshavim, in terms of the

desirability and feasibility of agricultural production. This is a policy which makes agricultural production undesirable and has a decisive influence on the ability of the moshavim to pass the economic test.

But we are wrong if we claim that the crisis in some of the moshavim only stems from this. The present crisis in some of the moshavim--including the ones whose economic condition is good--stems from the limited organizational and social ability of the moshav to pull together and overcome the crisis.

If we rule out those who are economically or socially weak we will remain without too many moshavim, and I can't see doing this.

I say, therefore, that we have to find a way not to disband the moshavim. What are they going to do after 32 years? We have to inform them and guide them. For we know that if each one must overcome the crises alone, there is no chance of overcoming the crisis even when things improve, when the agricultural economic policy is more correct.

Shay Ben-Eliyahu: We Only Have a Right To Exist as a Value-centered Movement

I also consider the moshav a success story. But only a success story on condition. I would like to make a prefacing observation: What happens to the moshav and what happens to the State of Israel is to me the same thing. If Israel is to become a little ugly America, it will not have moshavim and I doubt it is going to have kibbutzim much longer. But if Israel is to be different--to have a Jewish soul, then the part called smallholders' moshav may have a chance, since this is a social cell which seeks mutual responsibility, small gaps, productivity, self-labor. If the State of Israel wishes to remain a Jewish state, this is its true basis which I believe can sustain it for a long time. Anyone who does not understand this does not understand what a Jewish state is and what the important things for its existence are.

In light of the above, we should ask ourselves whether one may accept the process of the disbanding of the moshavim. Not whether we may accept it, but whether the State of Israel may accept it. In my opinion the state may not accept it, because the alternative is much worse. In some places the alternative will be Savyon [a chic neighborhood], namely a house with a red tiled roof, with a big shaggy dog, a car in the garage, a high standard of living for the children, but in many places we will create generations of people on welfare, which is something the State of Israel cannot afford and cannot deal with.

The moment the kibbutzim are disbanded or organized communities are disbanded, the level of services will go down, since Israel is a poor state and its population scattered in remote places cannot receive good services without paying more. Thus the share of the state in supplying services--including health and education--will diminish, and parts of the population will fall behind. There is no way of dealing with this kind of a situation.

I am sure that the smallholders' moshav will survive and will serve its purpose in the State of Israel only if it can raise its present level of

partnership. In this regard there are three types of moshavim: a few moshavim can raise the level of partnership; some moshavim would like to have a better organized community; and some moshavim consciously reject it.

I highly respect those who want to do it, and the moshav movement ought to help them in this process as much as possible. I would very much like to help those who want to do it and cannot, because I believe that settling people, making them productive, putting them into organized communities, is an effort which takes hundreds of years, and therefore it is our duty to help and to find the structure which can accomplish it. As for those who do not want to do it, I think we make the mistake of our life by continuing to embrace them. If we keep them they will strangle us, because this ideological inflation eats us, and I have no compassion for those who cause it.

It does not bother me if the moshav movement takes care of a failing moshav, which wants to stay with us, but it does bother me if it takes care of a place which states it does not want to be a moshav, does not want an organized community and is no longer an organized community.

What worries me more than anything else, is that we are used to accepting things which privately and publicly are intolerable and are unacceptable for an honest person. I was not able to accept the Rafah salient, including the evacuation, in light of what kind of things were taking place there, for I did not see it as a Jewish state. Now it happens in other places and we accept it, either tacitly or openly. Moshav behavior such as this cannot be a basis for the broad partnership of Jews in the State of Israel, for, on one hand we rightfully project the image of people who have claims beyond Tel Aviv, and on the other hand, it is very difficult to publicly defend such behavior. This is a question which I think every smart Jew in Israel asks himself and it seems to me that we find it difficult to come up with an answer. It is true that there are weak moshavim and that there are moshavim which cannot overcome the crisis, but, on the other hand, as a movement, as a public body, we do not and we will not have a right to exist if we accept those things and we declare at the same time that we are helping the State of Israel. We have to fight for our claims.

Our real problem is what is the extent of the adherence of people in the moshavim to what they call a society built on mutual responsibility. In the final analysis it is a question of faith, not of technology. I live on a moshav not because we make another shekel from selling tomatoes, but because I have a system of beliefs which says that I want to live in a place where, when I turn 80, and I lock the door and die during the night, the neighbors will not find me 2 weeks later because it stinks under the door. When I am hit by a disaster, I do not suffer from hunger, because there is someone who can help me; and when I am called to the reserves my business does not collapse because I am part of a system which takes care of me.

Because of this I am willing to give up some of my inalienable freedom, some of my ability to make more money, because I want to have smaller gaps, because I do not want to depend on the labor of others, because I believe this is what being a Jew is; for me and my son and my grandson. This is exactly

what in my opinion the Likud government does not understand. These are people who did not take part in the building of the State of Israel, in establishing this foundation of the state. Most of them come from small private businesses, and their horizon ends in Tel Aviv. Simha Ehrlich of blessed memory said that he did not understand this business of Tel Aviv being in the north. To him north was Haifa.

We and our beliefs have been their enemy all these years, and today, for whatever reason, we do not feel it so acutely. But when all is said and done, anyone who does not share our faith cannot help our communities and our movement, unless he is intelligent enough to understand that it is in his interest to preserve us.

Nahum Gantz: In the Future There Will Be Several Kinds of Moshavim

I disagree that we should accept the public view that the moshavim are bankrupt. The idea is not bankrupt and the moshavim are not bankrupt. There may be some moshavim, perhaps 20 in all, which are experiencing economic difficulties because of lack of internal organization and only from economic problems, but there is no ideological or movement-wide bankruptcy.

The moshav is an Israeli success story. It settled the land, built and produced, and nearly all the moshavim are doing well. Hence, those who publicly present the moshavim as bankrupt are wrong. Such things have happened before. Did we not have in the late sixties guided moshavim? Not with large sums of money but with guidance and organization we helped and reestablished those associations. Today, because of the inability and the unwillingness of the settlement institutions to act inside the moshav, the associations have been neglected and the motivation of those few members who generally try to keep and develop the association has diminished. A moshav which does not have 7-8 members who are willing to work for the association is bound to suffer.

As we choose to appear before the public at this time, we should realize that overcriticizing ourselves can unfairly boomerang.

The question is, what do we want to tell the Israeli public in regard to 50 years of the moshav movement, what do we expect the moshav movement to do in the years ahead. Overall, I would say that we wish to continue the settlement movement in the form of the lifestyle known as moshav. We will continue to form settlers' nuclei and continue to encourage our youth to settle the land in various areas.

I am saying unequivocally: There will be three types of moshavim in the moshav movement, and I am against removing a single moshav from the movement.

Are the moshavim the only ones who have had crises and failures? Qiryat Shemonah did not have two commissions called in? Did the Establishment give up Qiryat Shemonah? A few years ago I was sent to help rehabilitate the moshav of Benaya. We devoted 2 years to Benaya, and we should not be sorry--the moshav is not doing badly today. It seems that 30 years was not enough time to teach it, how can we now come and say,--"Either you behave as we

expect you to, or you have to leave?" This is out of the question. This is not the message. If a moshav chooses to leave, let them leave, but let us not be the ones who send the bride to her father's house. She will know the way herself.

We should also examine this question from a national standpoint. What favor are you doing, and for whom, if a certain moshav is not included in the moshav movement? It will not have an association. It will not be part of the structure. We should fight the battle as a movement, as a general representative of the settlers against the government as well: what laws will be passed and how will they be implemented. I never said we should lease land. I am for going to the government and saying, "Anyone who leases land to an Arab will be fined 2 million shekels." This will stop him from leasing. But if the government says we can lease, how can I throw him out of the moshav movement?

This does not only mean leasing land to Arabs; I am against any type of leasing to anyone outside the association and the moshav committee.

It should be pointed out that we have always settled and organized settlers' nuclei under a government headed by the labor movement, with labor views. The moshav movement never settled according to views which were not acceptable to the labor movement.

Those views were and are combined--social, economic and educational. The present crisis shows that educating one generation was not sufficient. We now have to take care of the second generation. The fact is, it was only recently that we introduced the study of the moshav as a subject in our regional schools. It is better late than never.

We are doing the best we can in our educational and organizational effort, but some moshavim are having difficulties. Whom do we send them to, an agricultural union? Is this the way to preserve the national settlement interests? No. The moshavim experiencing difficulties should be with us if they so choose. The communal villages should have also been included in the moshav movement, with a special section taking care of their affairs.

'Amos Hadar: Wisdom and Courage To Build the Future Moshav

I will begin with current practical issues: Some of our moshavim are undergoing an economic crisis. One of the reasons is that some of the settlers who came 30 years ago were not suitable for moshav life and no one bothered to educate them and now they make things difficult for the association. They should be taken out, and it seems to me that we have begun to do it in a way which is also acceptable to the institutions.

For years credit was not adequate for investment, financing was not sufficient, and by the time we reached the export crisis because of the rate of exchange the damage was done.

But if we undertake a conversion and we pay the debts and change the rate of exchange and will be able to export, there will be a limit to export. It is



not true that if export conditions are improved all the farmers will be able to grow flowers and make money. There is a real crisis, for instance, in citrus fruit, which goes beyond prices. It will get worse. In flowers and vegetables we are limited to the European markets, even if the rate of exchange is good. The domestic market is limited. In simple language, we have a surplus in our agricultural production for the domestic market and for exports, and it will get worse, since we continue to develop. We have to deal with this fact, especially since in addition to the limitation of the market we have very capable competitors and if we do not learn how to compete with them we will lose. Only the most efficient kibbutz and moshav may survive, but the others will go out of business. If we do not face this truth with open eyes but look for stop-gap measures, we are doomed.

We have to deal with the question of making a livelihood and I only see one solution--the moshav has to change. It is no longer possible for everyone to have the same production quota, since no one will be able to exist alongside a large kibbutz, or the 80 irrigated dunams of an exceptional moshav. We may demonstrate, we may burn tires, sooner or later we will lose. Therefore, what I foresee is new lines of production. The future moshav as I see it will have agriculture and industry and some of its members will work outside the moshav. It will not be the moshav of Elizer Yafeh, but it will be a community. It will help the weak, it will cooperate, its sources of income will be varied, not uniform. The fact that we are not yet ready for it makes things difficult for the association, for unlike in the past--when everyone needed the dairy and the (mixer), now 15 need the dairy and 12 need the chicken coop and things are no longer uniform. In the not far-off future some will need industry and some will work outside, and we will have the problem of running the moshav. Actually we already have this problem because of the specialization of the farm, which causes splitting--five farms grow turkey and five breed cattle and the majority in the association does not want to invest in specialized farms.

Our future depends on proper organization which can deal with new tasks. We are not organized everywhere according to circumstances and needs, and we do not meet the challenge everywhere. Let us make no mistake--this has nothing to do with oldtimers and newcomers, Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews. There are people throughout the movement who are tired of the rigors of the system. The standard-bearers in the rebelling moshav are those who are saying, "Let me grow, don't restrict me, I will lease land and let me develop, I do not want the restrictions of your association, with its equality." We have to meet the challenges against this backdrop, and it won't do any good to keep yelling at the government to keep us in business. It won't do it, because it can't, and we have to look for a way to make a living, and to this end we need a strong association, financially, economically and socially organized. If it cannot do the job it will fall, and some settlements may remain, but not a moshav.

There is mutual responsibility among the members of the moshav based on their signatures, based on the fact that they are members of the same place and there is mutual responsibility based on the signature of the purchasing bodies.



If a moshav falls, it affects the moshavim throughout the movement. If something happens to the purchasing organization, it has an impact on all the purchasing organizations. If we do not take care of our problems in time, I suggest that those who are not failing should get out fast, because the fire will consume all of us.

This is not only a theoretical matter. We will not be able to remain in the same movement with mutual signatures, with one moshav fund, with the entire system which officially and unofficially provides mutual guarantees, while everyone does what he wants; this is impossible and inconceivable, either socially or economically. The debate, which until now was theoretical--whether we should draw a red line and what to do with anyone who crosses it--now goes beyond the ideological question; if a purchase organization in any region suffers because of the failure of another organization, this will have immediate implications. The debate will not go on for 20 years, it can end very quickly.

As for the moshav itself, I say that a moshav which is not a moshav should be taken out of the movement before it undermines the entire movement. I say that the system should behave like a pauper, because it represents paupers and should act accordingly--from a car to a trip abroad to salaries.

I maintain that we must not continue to build ourselves only on agriculture, and I am the last one who ever thought that we would some day have to turn to other sources of income. But right now we have three options--Plassner's, which says that we should liquidate 200 settlements; Me'ir Ben-Me'ir's, which does not argue for 200 but for scattered numbers of farmers in order to increase production quotas; the third option is to keep all the settlements and to diversify the sources of income.

First and foremost--industry. If we build five industries per year, it will be enough, outstanding. If we take care of 100 moshavim in 10 years, it will be enough. If we do not break into industry in one way or another, some of the moshavim will disappear from the map.

How do I see it? We should set up a model in the best moshav. Some of the members will work in this industry which yields high income and their agricultural production rights will go to their neighbor, which will increase his means of production. For his furrow to be longer, his area has to be larger.

This industry will be owned by the moshav and most of the income will go to the workers, with a small portion to the entire community, or the association. For example, 75 percent of the income goes to the workers, and 25 percent to the rest of the members, since the association has provided the guarantees, the funds, and should be compensated.

I have said that we cannot give up the cooperative association as a basic principle of the moshav, and I would like to add: The national soil has been entrusted to us as a national asset, and let us not abuse it. I believe in perfect faith that whoever works the land will own the land, in one or in

two generations. Let us not give in in this matter, since we have to set a limit to the unauthorized use of this trust that was given to us.

I believe the moshav movement will have a future if it keeps the principles of our structure which sets it apart from others. It will not be an agricultural future as it was in the past, since we do not have an agricultural answer to our problems and will have to look for other answers.

This movement will have a future if it knows how to organize the communal life of groups of people whose economic base is not necessarily agricultural but combined--agriculture, industry, tourism, services. At the same time it will maintain a special communal structure which will be characterized by the contribution it will make to the individual, to the community and to the goals of the labor movement and the State of Israel. Starting on this road as we begin our second half century will be our supreme test.

#### The Moshav Movement--Facts and Figures--1983

--Member moshavim in the movement--270 out of 397 moshavim in Israel.

--Between founding of Nahalal, the first moshav in 1924 until birth of the state, 48 moshavim were formed by the moshav movement.

--Since birth of the state 222 moshavim were established out of a total of 320.

--Moshav movement includes 85,000 people out of 135,000 in all moshavim.

--Agricultural farms in movement moshavim--13,100 out of 20,100 in all moshavim.

--Education system in moshav movement includes; 7,000 children in kindergartens; 13,500 students in elementary schools; 9,000 students post-elementary; hundreds of moshav students pursue higher education.

--Agricultural crops in moshav movement farms are mainly:

Citrus--115,000 dunams

Deciduous fruit trees--33,000 dunams

Grapes--13,000 dunams

Subtropical fruits--31,000 dunams

Vegetables and melons--88,000 dunams

Flowers and house plants--8,000 dunams

Field crops and fodder--365,000 dunams

--Moshav movement livestock includes:

Milch cows--30,000

Fattened calves--14,000

Egg laying fowl--3,700,000

Poultry--28,000,000

Turkey--2,300,000

--Moshav movement farms' share in Israel's agricultural exports:

Flowers--51 percent

Vegetables--38 percent

Citrus fruit--44 percent

--The economic institutions of the moshav movement:

Moshav fund--financial aid for member moshavim.

Provident fund--oversees member savings and pension plans.

Insurance department--farm liability insurance and life insurance.

Moshav movement supplies--technical product supplies, home products and other products.

--Two other departments operate within the moshav movement--social-educational and economic. They each have subdivisions and committees:

Social-educational department: education division, youth division, soldier welfare division, continuing generation division, study division, women's division, cultural division, Israeli geography division, communal village division, new settlements division.

The economic department is run by a team of members supervised by the secretariat, while ongoing matters are handled by regional coordinators assigned to the moshavim. This department also supervises trade organizations.

9565

CSO: 4423/7

## BRIEFS

**ZERO POPULATION GROWTH--BEERSHEBA--**Israel is moving rapidly towards a "late modern type" of family situation, characterized by a rising rate of divorce, more women going out to work and increasing use of contraception. The declining fertility rate may soon approach zero-population growth, says sociologist Leo Davids in the first issue of Israel Social Science Research. The journal, which is expected to appear bi-annually, is published by the Hubert H. Humphrey Centre for Social Ecology of the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. An analysis of recent statistics showed that Israel may soon reflect the same pattern of falling birth rates coupled with rising divorce rates that is prevalent in modern westernized countries, Davids writes. In the same issue, Israel Adler, of the Central Bureau of Statistics, and Robert Hodge, of UCLA, conclude that there is "no clear evidence" of gross occupational discrimination based on ethnic origin. But a socio-economic gap does exist between European-American and Asian-African Jews because professional position is largely based on education. "Equality of educational opportunity" will go a long way towards eliminating differences in attainment between the various ethnic groups, Adler and Hodge write. [Liora Moriel] [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 16 Oct 83 p 3]

**REFORM MOVEMENT SETTLEMENT IN GALILEE--HAIFA--**It's a long way from pledging to settle in Galilee during a weekend conference in Massachusetts to trekking to see the bare hilltop in Galilee earmarked for the settlement. The four delegates, sent to spy out the land by the September weekend inauguration conference of Mitzpeh Halutz, are firmly committed to the scheme after two visits to the site last week. The Reform Movement community village is to be built on the Halutz hill, halfway between Acre and Safad in central Galilee. The delegation was brought to Israel by Haim Sharett, the United Kibbutz Movement shaliah to the Reform Movement in the U.S., who initiated the scheme. They intend to start settling at the site early in 1985. So far 24 families have joined the garin (settlement group), among them six families that include at least one former Israeli. The garin members range in age from 24 to 60. One of the families is already in Israel, 14 are to come next year and the rest are to follow in 1985. Eventually they hope to expand into a village of 250 families. There is no land for farming at the site and most of the residents will work in neighbouring towns like Carmiel and Safad, or at the new Tefen high technology industrial complex. During their week-long visit, the delegation met settlement officials, talked to other Mitzpeh settlers and explored job opportunities. The Reform Movement has tow kibbutzim, Yahel and Lotan, in the Arava. [Ya'acov Friedler] [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 17 Oct 83 p 3]

TRADE WITH PARAGUAY--A trade and economic and technological cooperation agreement between Paraguay and Israel was initialed in Jerusalem over the weekend. The agreement was signed by Paraguayan Deputy Minister of Industry Dr Luis Ortis, who headed an economic delegation, and by Industry and Commerce Ministry General Manager Avraham Ashri. Israel will sell Paraguay 'Aravah aircraft, agricultural training systems, transformers, pesticides, fertilizers and agricultural supplies. Last year Israeli exports to Paraguay reached \$7 million. The new agreement will more than double the volume of Israeli exports to this country in the next few years. Israel will buy from Paraguay mostly meat, lumber and coffee. Meat purchases were made last year on an experimental basis (1,000 tons were purchased). Now the meat purchases should reach 3,000-5,000 tons per year. In addition to the trade framework agreement, a payment schedule agreement between the two countries was initialed in order to allow a flow of goods between the two. The Paraguayan economic delegation hosted by the Industry and Commerce Ministry also expressed interest in agricultural cooperation. The visitors last week toured various industrial plants as well as the aircraft fair. They met at the end of the week with Minister Gid'on Pat. The Ministry of Industry hopes that a new market will open up for Israeli exports in Latin America. The agreement has to be approved by the two governments. [Text] [Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 25 Sep 83 p 1] 9565

CSO: 4423/7

STATUS OF WOMEN EXAMINED

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic No 769, 21 Sep 83 pp 56-59

[Article by 'Abd-al-Fattah 'Anani: "Saudi Women: This Is How It All Began!"]

[Text] Conversation that takes place on the kingdom's National Day tends to turn to the first founder of this great nation. It turns to a man who is a peacemaker, the late King 'Abd-al-'Aziz, may God have mercy on his soul. Talking about his accomplishments and his ideas makes us talk about this man who built this proud nation and turned the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia from [a country of] small, narrow regions to a large and vast kingdom. He was the one who turned scattered, feuding communities into a closely-knit, friendly community and a cohesive nation with one aim and one mission. A western writer said that King 'Abd-al-'Aziz was not only one of the greatest men of the 20th Century, but he was also one of the greatest men of all times. Whenever National Day is mentioned, a discussion about the radiant image of Saudi women's achievements and the scientific, intellectual and social progress they have so far achieved is bound to follow. Schools, institutes, colleges and guidance offices are full of Saudi women. Hospitals and clinics are full of female physicians and nurses. Many educated Saudi women have turned to writing: they write many columns in Saudi newspapers and magazines, and bookstores are full of their works. All this has been realized with the grace of God and because of the funds that were spent generously by the state for the development of human resources in the kingdom. How did the progress of Saudi women begin and how did they achieve the concrete progress and advancement that they've achieved today? This is what we will find out in this report.

Before we start tracing the progress of women in Saudi Arabia, it would be good for us to know something about the status of women before the time of King 'Abd-al-'Aziz. Mr 'Abdallah Muhammad al-Harqan, director general of women's education in Riyadh talked to us about that and said, "The Arabian Peninsula went through a critical period during which strife, disturbances and instability abounded. At that time women were of no importance. Their natural role as mothers, sisters and homemakers was not recognized. In fact, social relations for women were almost non-existent. With the onset of the fortunate times of His Majesty King 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the role of women began to take a proper course, and they began to be considered an important part of Islamic society in this peninsula. His majesty was interested in informing women about the precepts of religion. His Majesty wanted women to read the Holy Koran and to teach the Holy Book to other women. King 'Abd-al-'Aziz determined that women were to receive grants from the treasury.

"This role for women began in schools that were set up in homes and in private schools for the girls of a neighborhood. At these schools only the Koran and the principles of reading and writing were taught. The woman who taught these classes had no other occupation. Gradually, that circle began to expand, thanks to the urbane personality of King 'Abd-al-'Aziz and his ability to persuade others about matters that do not contradict the principles of the Islamic religion. Illiteracy and ignorance were prevalent in the earliest days of the kingdom, and what was more dangerous than illiteracy and ignorance was the erroneous assumption that teaching the principles of modern science and foreign languages violated the precepts of Islam. [It was argued], therefore, that such instruction must be resisted and prohibited. It was argued that everything new was a heresy and every heresy would lead one astray.

"It is a confirmed fact that it was King 'Abd-al-'Aziz who sowed the first seeds of knowledge in the Arabian Peninsula. The first elementary school was founded during his reign in the holy city of Mecca in 1362 A.H."

Dr 'Ali 'Abd-al-Rahman al-'Amru, director general of curricula, research and textbooks in the Public Directorate for the Education of Women picked up the conversation where Mr al-Haraqan had left off and said, "It was late in the seventies of the past century in the Hijra calendar that Saudi newspapers began dealing with the subject of women's education. They stirred up debates and referenda on the subject, and they asked scholars, intellectuals and distinguished personalities questions about the basic issues that were involved in this matter. When the state, may God protect it, found that the time had come to give Saudi women access to education so they can lead lives that are based on morals and adherence to the principles of True Islam, the noble royal order was issued establishing the Public Directorate for the Education of Women.

"Before 1380 A.H. there was no administrative organization overseeing the education of women. Nor was there any government organization organizing and overseeing the education of women. This was the case until a royal decree was issued on 24 Rabi' al-Aakhar 1379 [A.H.]. That order comprised the establishment of an organization that would oversee schools for women and draw up a policy for the education of women.

"The Public Directorate for the Education of Women had been formed with a sufficient budget as the year 1380 A.H. began. The directorate began preparing its administrative and professional organizations, and it began taking the first steps it had to take to open schools. It set forth a distinguished educational program that is considered to be a leading experiment in the education of women in the various stages of education. It is a program that has the respect and appreciation of Muslims everywhere.

"This is how the education of women began officially in 1380 A.H. I think it would be appropriate for me to make a brief comparison that would explain how education for women began in each stage and what has been achieved in education for women by now so we can see the considerable progress that has been made in women's education in this time of prosperity. This progress was achieved in a short period of time that is no more than 23 years. This progress is shown in Table Number 1."



Table Number 1

Figures Showing the Beginnings of Education for Women in Each Stage of Education and What Women Have Achieved in Each of Those Stages

Number	Stage of Education	Academic Year	Number	Total Number of Students
1.	Kindergartens	1395-1396	1	200
		1402-1403	55	4,560
2.	Elementary schools	1380-1381	15	5,180
		1402-1403	2,504	433,851
3.	Middle schools	1383-1384	5	235
		1402-1403	602	111,442
4.	Secondary schools	1383-1384	1	21
		1402-1403	204	47,938
5.	Teachers' Institutes	1381	1	.....
		1402-1403	84	5,514
6.	Junior colleges	1399-1400	4	415
		1402-1403	11	1,741
7.	Women's colleges	1390-1391	1	80
		1402-1403	11	9,029
8.	Training centers for seamstresses	1392-1393	2	137
		1402-1403	15	1,980
9.	Illiteracy schools	1392-1393	5	1,400
		1402-1403	1,372	55,602
10.	Schools for memorizing the Koran	1399-1400	4	166
		1402-1403	14	2,012

Mr 'Abdallah al-'Aql, deputy chief of educational affairs at the Public Directorate for the Education of Women, adds that in 1389 [A.H.] he had asked the Public Directorate as well as other ministries and departments to draft the first 5-year plan for development. That plan was the first experiment in planning, and its purpose was to broaden education for women. Implementation of the plan began in 1390-1391 and ended in 1394-1395 A.H. During that period the Public Directorate realized the following figures, as indicated in Table 2.

Table Number 2

	Enrollments	Targeted	Achieved	Percentage
Elementary schools	215,744	109,682	100,888	92 percent
Middle schools	37,111	19,154	32,743	170.9 percent
Secondary schools	9,538	4,562	9,188	201.4 percent

Noticeable progress was realized by the Public Directorate during the second plan, and opportunities for the education of women were increased from 1395 to 1399 A.H., as shown in Table Number 3.

Table Number 3

	Enrollments	Targeted	Achieved	Percentage
Elementary	237,945	321,107	286,170	89.1 percent
Middle	47,214	60,408	68,011	114.1 percent
Secondary	13,061	11,935	10,907	91.4 percent

The number of state-owned schools rose from 232 in 1395-1396 A.H. to 383 schools in 1398-1399 A.H. One of the principal achievements of the plan was that 700 schools out of a total of 1,417 schools were furnished with their own libraries, and a system of transporting students was also expanded.

Based on the educational policy that is being pursued by the state, the directorate had to develop its educational, administrative and technical organizations and it had to draft plans and make preparations for the construction that was going to be necessary to face the universal boom that the kingdom was experiencing. This is evident in what the directorate achieved during the first 3 years of the third plan. Table Number 4 shows the achievements of the plan.

Table Number 4

	Number of Students in 1399- 1400 A.H.	Increase Set in the Plan	Number of Students in 1402- 1403 A.H.	Implemented in 3 years	Ratio of Increase
Elementary schools	311,735	129,190	424,500	112,765	87 percent
Middle schools	77,835	31,622	111,000	32,165	102 percent
Secondary schools	27,731	17,020	47,034	19,303	113 percent

Because teachers and the proper preparation of teachers are important, the directorate has been trying, ever since it was founded, to set forth clear plans for the preparation of native teachers and for their educational development. For that purpose secondary institutes for teachers, from which teachers for elementary schools graduate, have been provided. Because of the social conditions of Saudi women and because it is difficult for them to travel from one area to another, the directorate opened a teachers' institute in every town that needed teachers for elementary schools. The directorate now has 84 institutes for teachers in which 5,625 students are enrolled.

But what are the accomplishments that have been achieved so far for Saudi women?

Mr 'Abdallah Sulayman al-Khalif, director general of cultural affairs in the directorate talked to us about that and made the following points.

"The spread of education for women in the various stages of education and in all kinds of disciplines has exceeded all expectations. Education for women is now available in all regions and in remote villages as well. At the beginning of this

academic year the number of educational institutions that are affiliated with the directorate amounted to 5,400. In 1380 A.H. there were only 16 schools and institutions.

"The fact that about 700,000 female students are enrolled in the directorate's various educational, professional and cultural institutions provides the biggest indication of social awareness. It indicates that society views the education for women as important at the present time and in the future.

"The percentage of Saudi women employed in various educational professions has risen considerably; the increase was more than that which was anticipated in the 5-year plans. At the end of the last academic year Saudi teachers made up 75 percent of teachers in elementary schools, and 82 percent of the administrative staff in those schools. In middle schools Saudi teachers made up 32 percent of teachers in those schools and 75 percent of the administrative staff. Saudi secondary school teachers made up 21 percent of secondary school teachers and 85 percent of the administrative staff. This is a phenomenon that bodes well.

"Besides the educational care they receive attention is being given to the physical and emotional well-being of female students. This is done through school health units that are scattered in different areas. At the present time the number of those units has reached 50, and they are all staffed by female physicians, female nurses and female public health nurses.

"Attention is being given to finding an appropriate climate for studying through the expansion of school construction projects. The number of projects that have been listed in the directorate's budgets from the time the directorate was established till 1402-1403 A.H. amounted to 1,206. By the month of Muharram 1403 A.H. 700 projects will have been implemented, and the rest are on the way to being implemented. These projects include [construction of] school buildings and buildings for some departments of education and health units.

"It is with a great deal of pride that I say that many of the achievements and aspirations that had not even been contemplated in the course of education for women have been realized in the past quarter of a century. All this was accomplished within the boundaries of propriety, conservatism and adherence to both the tenets and practices of the tolerant canonical law of Islam. Radiant examples of the progress of Saudi women are innumerable. Professor Ilham 'Abd-al-Fattah al-Mayqati, director of the Department of Educational Guidance at the directorate talks about another new example of this progress that we have in front of us. Professor Ilham lived at the same time that the favorable progress of Saudi women began. Professor Ilham said, "This is a testimonial from a western woman. She is author Charis Waddy whose new book about women in Islamic history was recently published in London. The book was dedicated to Her Royal Highness, Princess 'Iffat, the wife of the late King Faysal ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz. With the assistance of his highness Princess 'Iffat was able to play a leading role in promoting and strengthening the role and status of women in Saudi society. The author [of that book] says, and I quote, 'The truth that must be told is that there are profound and radical changes occurring at the present time in Saudi society. These are changes for the better that still preserve the strong principles of Islam, and they preserve for women an appropriate place in society.' Elsewhere the author adds, 'Although some people view Islamic society as a male-oriented society in

which men play the role of masters, women in Islamic society did and still do play an honorable role. Women in Islamic society are philosophers, writers, worshippers, mothers of the faithful and counselors. They comfort the wounded in times of war, and they are mothers who have always been relied on to raise healthy and successful generations of Muslims.'

"This is what Mrs Charis Waddy said, a western woman who did not adopt Islam. This means that she views the society of Muslim women from a perspective that is completely western. [This is a woman] who cannot be accused of bias. If a foreign woman abroad is able to perceive the progress made by Saudi women, this means quite simply that the success achieved by our wise government in consolidating the progress of Saudi women has been splendid. Educational guidance offices have played an effective role in [bringing about] this progress. After being located only in principal cities, educational guidance offices can now be found in many cities and villages. There are now 50 such offices which are largely staffed by nationals. These offices are being nominated by the Guidance Department for leadership activities. In addition, these offices publish bulletins and hold training courses throughout the kingdom to improve teachers' performance standards and to inform them about everything that is new. Now teachers and counselors have assumed their positions and proven their worth. Following in their footsteps in this fortunate progress are physicians, university professors, deans, instructors, social workers, nurses, seamstresses and typists. All these women, armed with faith and virtue, have proven their abilities and their excellence to society."

We will now speak about the considerable progress that has been achieved by our wise government in preparing teachers to teach in elementary schools. The government has given that activity considerable attention and care in order to improve the status of women in this Islamic country. Professor (Mawdi) Fahd al-Na'im, dean of the Junior College in Riyadh, says, "Elementary education is the first step on a road that appears to be arduous and long. It is the road of educating and raising children properly so as to help them understand what this age is all about. Because officials believe in the importance of the elementary stage of education and because they believe it is a formative stage, they did everything to improve the standards of teachers at this stage. They provided guidance, published bulletins and pamphlets and offered training courses for teachers in different subjects. Our government then took a leading step by announcing the opening of junior colleges. Elementary school teachers were commissioned to study at these colleges on a full-time basis, and graduates of public secondary schools were also admitted to these colleges which offer a diploma in one of the disciplines that are taught. These colleges prepare teachers to teach in elementary schools, and their efforts are based on scientific and educational principles that are appropriate to that stage and its needs."

"The success achieved by Saudi women in this area has been unprecedented. We now have teachers for elementary schools who are academically and educationally qualified, and that is consistent with the importance of this stage of education. These teachers now understand the goals of the schools where they work, and they understand the subject or subjects they teach. They have achieved the best methods of instruction, and they are following the finest modes [of instruction] that could lead to the realization of these goals. These teachers also know about the theory and practice of modern educational methods. Junior colleges are becoming widespread throughout the kingdom; by next year (1403-1404 A.H.) there will be 14 colleges."

"It is the responsibility of elementary education in each nation to educate the vast majority of citizens and prepare them for life. The future of a country does to a large extent depend on the success of the elementary school in performing its job. What Saudi women have achieved in this regard is splendid and honorable."

But what does the dear reader know about higher education for Saudi women in the past 10 years? Higher education for Saudi women has been growing steadily: the number of students has grown; the number of disciplines these students are studying has grown; and the moral and material components of higher education for women have become available. The number of students rose from 434 students only in 1389-1390 A.H. to 12,665 students in 1399-1400 A.H. Dr al-Jawharah, the daughter of Fahd ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd-al-Rahman Aal Sa'ud spoke about this matter. She is the dean of the College of Education for Women in Riyadh (the humanities departments). Dr al-Jawharah said, "Although we have not had education for women in our country for more than some 20 odd years, education for women has reached a fairly good phase whose fruits the kingdom began reaping a few years ago. Credit for this is due to the success with which God Almighty has blessed us and to the efforts of the government of the kingdom which assigned the task of educating Saudi women to religious educational leaders. The education of women in Saudi Arabia was assigned to the Public Directorate for the Education of Women which is responsible for the progress of Saudi women, progress that is armed with religion, morals, and knowledge that is united with faith. Between 1389-1399 and 1399-1400 A.H. the number of institutions of higher learning for women grew from three to six universities. The first college for women, the College of Education, was established in Riyadh in 1390-1391 A.D. At that time it had 80 students. In 1399-1400 A.H. there were 6 colleges in which 3,437 new students were enrolled. In 1403-1400 [sic] A.H. the number of colleges for women [rose to] 10, and these colleges were scattered all over the kingdom. It may be said on the basis of statistical figures that the number of students in these colleges quadrupled during the years of the second development plan.

Our women competed ambitiously in graduate studies. They were eager to come face to face with that future which will need strong foundations of support that are based on faith, science and knowledge. It was a natural result of the increase in the number of students and the diversity of the disciplines in which they majored that the number of female faculty members who have doctorates increased. They are being assisted by university graduates who have bachelor's degrees and master's degrees. Most of these women are Saudis. In 1399-1400 A.H. the total number of faculty members was 1,030; 581 of them were in women's colleges.

With regard to spending on higher education, statistical data mentioned in a book on the development of education in the kingdom, which is published by the Ministry of Education, indicate that spending on higher education rose from 1.984 billion Saudi riyals in 1394-1395 A.H. to 5.539 billion Saudi riyals in the 1399-1400 A.H. academic year.

In 1399-1400 A.H. higher education costs per student amounted to 49,000 riyals a year in the kingdom as a whole, but costs per student in women's colleges amounted to 31,000 riyals a year. It is expected that costs per student will decline when institutions of higher education for women can accommodate a larger number of colleges. By comparing higher education costs for women in the kingdom per student in 1394-1395 A.H. with higher education costs per student in some

developing and advanced countries that same year, we find that costs per student in Saudi Arabia are about seven and a half times as much as costs per student in Morocco and four times as much as costs per student in the United States.

As a result of the efforts made by the government of his majesty, the beloved king of Saudi Arabia and because of the government's interest in higher education for women, the number of women who earned bachelor's degrees rose from 13 in 1389-1390 A.H. to 1,120 in 1399-1400 A.H. In the same year 63 students earned graduate diplomas in various disciplines; 9 Saudi women earned doctorates; and 42 women earned master's degrees. The largest number of those graduates graduated from women's colleges that are affiliated with the Public Directorate.

There are a few [examples] of the many constructive efforts that are being carried out by the state. These are a few [examples] of the state's continuous efforts to encourage higher education for Saudi women. The state is trying to help Saudi women earn the highest academic degrees.

As we come to the end of this report, it is important for us to know how much influence Saudi women have had on their society and on human societies in general. Dr Nadiyah Sharif al-'Imari, dean of the College of Letters for Women in Riyadh spoke about that. She asked, "What have Saudi women done for their religion and their homeland? What have they done that is proportionate to the present progress and the general growth that is occurring everywhere? The country has given women their full share [of attention]; it has neither denied them nor withheld from them any of the rights granted to them by Islam.

"Much has been accomplished by Saudi women in their society under the aegis of modern progress. Education for women has been broadened in all stages of education; colleges have been established; graduate studies were started; students graduated with doctorates and master's degrees; women's societies were established; and lectures, debates and cultural soirees were held. In addition, women play an extremely important role in their families and in their homes where they have established their ability to raise Muslim families, to be chaste and protect the virtue of their husbands, and to instill a sense of peace and psychological and emotional stability in the hearts of members of their families. Women have also been able to look after their children and to safeguard their physical and mental well-being. To a large extent women have succeeded in establishing friendly and affectionate relations with their children."

The contributions of Saudi women to the press and to periodicals are no secret to anyone. Their efforts in that area have been obvious. The articles, stories and critiques they wrote in verse and in prose had social and Islamic aims.

Saudi women have exercised greater influence [on their societies] than women in other societies have. Their opinions, appearance and conduct may carry weight in the international world of women, reaching all societies, nearby and distant and friendly and unfriendly. Saudi women exercise such influence because of their Saudi character and because of their commitment to Saudi society and to the wise Saudi government. No other contemporary society has received as much confidence as Saudi society has, and no other society has earned such a good worldwide reputation as that which Saudi society has earned. The hearts of Muslims yearn for it; Muslims look toward Saudi society and pray for its success.

Accordingly, women in other societies have been viewing Saudi women in a special way. Saudi women are being seen as providing leadership, good role models and high ideals. Saudi women are being seen as women who appeal to God for wisdom and good counsel. This is because Saudi women derive their method of dealing with people and their modes of conduct from Islamic values. There is no place in Saudi society for contradictions, and there is no point in rocking the boat and upsetting standards. This has been a plain review [of the education of women] which shows the considerable progress that has been achieved by Saudi women and the extent of the positive influence they exercise in their society and in other societies as well.

8592

CSO: 4404/22



SOVIET ASSAULT ON AFGHAN VILLAGES REPORTED

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 26 Oct 83 p 4

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 25 (Dispatches) — Russian troops killed or wounded hundreds of villagers, including more than a dozen children bayoneted in the heaviest assault since Russian soldiers invaded Afghanistan in 1979, a western diplomat said Tuesday.

The diplomat, quoting survivors, said Mujahideen killed at least 36 Russian soldiers and destroyed more than 12 armored vehicles in retaliation for the attack.

"Many (villages) are still buried in the rubble," the diplomat said on the massive Russian air and ground attack on Istalef, a town known for its blue pottery, 22 miles (35 km) north of Kabul.

"According to the lowest estimates available, the civilian casualties were several hundred," the diplomat said, without specifying the death toll.

He added the toll could go much higher as half of the homes in Istalef's market area lay in ruin and more bodies were being recovered from the rubble.

The Russian assault on Istalef, which began on Oct. 2, was first reported by western diplomats last week but Tuesday's briefing included fresh details of the attack

and reprisals by Muslim freedom fighters. The accounts could not be independently confirmed.

"As of Oct. 17, over 12 Russian armored vehicles were destroyed by rocket and mine attacks near Istalef," the diplomat said. "Three dozen Russian soldiers were killed, not counting armored personnel carrier crews."

The diplomat said an unknown number of Russian troops were captured by the Mujahideen following the attack on the Shomali valley town and surrounding hamlets by Russian MiG jets, tanks, helicopters and artillery.

The diplomat said "the bulk of the Russian troops withdrew" from the area on Oct. 20.

"Survivors claim over 12 children were bayoneted by Russian troops," the report said. "Survivors say Russian soldiers indulged in an orgy of looting, taking money, jewelry, food and the occasional television sets."

The diplomat said Mujahideen in the area "avoided encirclement" and used loudspeakers to taunt Afghan regime soldiers to "either come over to the Muslim side or join the godless Russians in slaughtering Afghan children."

On Oct. 16, the fighting shifted south to the village of Bedak in

Guldara valley where Mujahideen destroyed or disabled "a half dozen Russian armored vehicles," the diplomat said. He said the freedom fighters destroyed another 10 Russian soldiers with rockets and mines the following day.

The attacks were described as the worst since Russian troops invaded Afghanistan to back up President Babrak Karmal, installed by Moscow at the end of 1979.

In Kabul, funeral services were held at mosques throughout the capital on Oct. 21 for victims of the attacks in the Shomali valley, "mainly women and children," the diplomat said.

"Kabul bazaars are filled with speculation over why the Russians launched the attack in the villages so near Kabul," the diplomat said.

One view, he said, was that they wanted to avenge the recent mutilations, killings and kidnappings of Russians by the Mujahideen.

"A more cynical view was that the Russians 'needed victories near Kabul' to counter talks of Russian defeats in the southern province of Paktika and western Herat 'which have sapped the morale of regime forces,' he said.

PARTY ALLIANCE SAID BACKED BY 'INDO-SOVIET AXIS'

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 1 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Mr Oli Ahad, Senior Vice President of Democratic League (Mushtaque), yesterday said that the 15-party and the 7-party alliances are backed by Indo-Soviet axis.

He said that the Olkya Front has been formed with the objective of uniting the people on the basis of the slogan "Delhi or Dhaka-Dhaka".

Mr Oli Ahad was addressing a workers meeting of Gulshan thana unit of his party in preparation of the Democracy Day on October 3. The meeting was presided over by Abdul Karim Engineer, President of the thana unit.

He said, the forces of the Indo-Soviet axis have been stronger during the Martial Law period.

Democratic Juba League and Democratic Chhatra League will hold workers meetings on October 2 in preparation of the Day.

Democratic Sramik League General Secretary has called upon the workers of his organisation to make success the Democracy Day.

CSO: 4600/1124

PRESS REPORTS FOREIGN MINISTERS ACTIVITIES IN NEW YORK

Luncheon for PRC Foreign Minister

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 1 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] NEW YORK Sept. 30: Foreign Minister Mr A. F. Shams-ud Doha on Wednesday hosted a luncheon in honour of Chinese Foreign Minister Mr Wu Xueqian who is leading his country's delegation to the current 38th UN General Assembly session. Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Chu Nan also attended the luncheon reports BSS.

At the luncheon the two Foreign Ministers had extensive exchange of views on various agenda items before the General Assembly. Foreign Minister Shams-ud Doha briefed the Chinese ministers on recent developments regarding South Asian regional cooperation. They also discussed bilateral and regional matters.

Mr Wu Xueqian recalled the CMLA's recent visit to China and expressed his satisfaction at the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

The Bangladesh Foreign Minister told Mr Wu Xueqian that Bangladesh was looking forward his visit to Dhaka.

In the evening Mr Shams-ud Doha attended a dinner hosted by Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi for a group of select heads of state and government and foreign ministers, the leaders are now in New York to take part in the general debate of the current session of the United Nations General Assembly.

On Thursday Mr Doha had separate meetings with the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Iraq Mr Tariq Aziz and the President of the Turkish federated state of Cyprus Mr R. Denktas.

The Foreign Ministers of Bangladesh and Iraq discussed bilateral relations and exchanged views on regional and international issues.

President Denktas and Foreign Minister Doha also reviewed various international issues.

## Talks With Howe, Khaddam, Nguyen Co Thach

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 3 Oct 83 p 4

[Text] NEW YORK, Oct. 2--The leader of the Bangladesh delegation to the 38th UN General Assembly session, Foreign Minister A. R. Shams-ud Doha met separately on September 29 in New York the British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, Foreign Minister of Syria Mr. Abdul Halim Khaddam and the Vietnamese Foreign Minister Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, reports BSS.

Sir Geoffrey and Mr. Shams-ud Doha who are leading their respective country's delegations to the current Session of the UN General Assembly had an extensive exchange of views on various agenda items before the General Assembly. They availed of this opportunity to discuss bilateral relations between the two countries and to review current international situation.

At his meeting with the Syrian Foreign Minister Mr. Shams-ud Doha had a detailed discussion on current international political and economic issues, particularly the role of the world body and the situation in Lebanon.

When the Foreign Minister of Vietnam called on the Bangladesh Foreign Minister, they had an extensive exchange of views on the issues before the General Assembly including the situation in Kampuchea.

In the evening the leader of the Bangladesh delegation attended two receptions hosted by the Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany Mr. Hans Dietrich Genscher and the Foreign Minister of China Mr. Wu Xueqian respectively and a dinner hosted by the Secretary General Mr. Javier Perez De Cuellar in honour of the heads of delegation to the current session of the General Assembly.

Mr. A. R. Shams-ud Doha, had separate meetings on Friday with Foreign Minister of Maldives Mr. Fathullah Jameel, Foreign Minister of Argentina Mr. Aguirre Lanari and Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka Mr. A C S Hameed to exchange views on various agenda items before the General Assembly.

At the meeting the Foreign Ministers also discussed bilateral relations and reviewed regional and international situation.

Mr. Shams-ud Doha also attended a luncheon hosted by the Foreign Minister of Chile Mr. Miguel Schweitzer. In the evening he attended a dinner given by the President of Turkish Federated State of Cyprus Mr. R. Denktas.

## Meeting With UNGA President

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 5 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] NEW YORK Oct. 4:--Foreign Minister Mr. A. R. Shams-ud-Doha who is leading the Bangladesh delegation to the UN General Assembly had a meeting with the President of the General Assembly Dr. Jorge E. Illueca here yesterday

Lt. General Khwaja Wasiuddin Permanent Representative of Bangladesh to the United Nations and alternate leader of the Bangladesh delegation to the General Assembly was also present at the meeting reports BSS.

The Foreign Minister congratulated Dr. Illueca on his election to the high office of the presidency of the General Assembly and conveyed to him the greetings of the Government and the people of Bangladesh. President Illueca warmly reciprocated the sentiments. Dr. Illueca appreciated the role played by Bangladesh in the international economic field and emphasised the importance of the Group of-77.

The Assembly President and the Foreign Minister reviewed the current international situation and had an extensive exchange of views on the agenda items before the assembly. They agreed that this General Assembly could be important in improving the global economic situation.

Mr. Shams-ud-Doha also had separate meetings with the Foreign Minister of Iran Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati and the Foreign Minister of Peru Dr. Fernando Schwalb. At both these meetings the Ministers exchanged views on the issues before the General Assembly. They also discussed bilateral and regional matters.

The Foreign Minister earlier hosted a lunch for the leaders of the delegations of the South Asian countries. Those attending the lunch included Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka Mr. A. C. S. Hameed Foreign Minister of Pakistan Shahabzada Yakub Khan Vice-Chairman of Maldives delegation Mr. Ahmed Zaki Additional Secretary of the External Affairs Ministry of India Mr. J. S. Teja and the permanent representatives to the United Nations of Nepal and Bhutan.

#### Speech to General Assembly

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 9 Oct 83 pp 5, 7

[Text] Foreign Minister Mr. A. R. Shams-ud Doha said in New York on Wednesday night that the voice of the United Nations General Assembly must be heard loud and clear in support of concrete measures to promote disarmament and divert resources from armament to development.

Addressing the UN General Assembly (UNGA), session Mr Doha termed the situation in the Least Developed Countries as "particularly desperate" and said these countries had little or no access to commercial credit and their capacity for trade had been seriously hampered.

The Foreign Minister who is leading the Bangladesh delegation at the on-going 38th General Assembly session, emphasised the need for taking certain important measures. The measures included increase in official development assistance on highly concessional terms to the developing countries, particularly to the Least Developed countries (LDCs) the replenishment of IDA-VII to provide for a substantial increase in lending to recipients in real terms. SDR allocation of fifteen million US dollars for the next two years,

cancellation of all financial debts of the LDCs waving of all barriers of tariff and quota in respect of LDCs and full and effective implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for 1980s for the LDCs.

Mr Doha in his long speech told the world body that the Group of 77 had attached very high importance to the role of United Nations system in support of Economic Cooperation for Developing Countries (ECDC) and the Caracas Programme of Action. He observed that the fundamental basis of South-South cooperation was that the South must be permitted to decide its own volition and without interference the framework and substance of such cooperation.

He hoped that there would be no impediment created to the United Nations system supporting the Group of 77 in strengthening and developing the ECDC.

The Foreign Minister recalled the proposal of the non-aligned summit and urged the General Assembly to initiate preparations for an international conference on money and finance for development.

Referring to his suggestion of diverting resources from armament to development the Foreign Minister made certain concrete suggestion to achieve the objective. He suggested taxation on all expenditure on the nuclear arms, concrete measures by the General Assembly to arrest the increase in armament particularly in nuclear weapon, devising ways and means to de-politicise, as far as possible, the consideration of such questions within the United Nations, and objective determination of technical issues particularly those relating to verification and assessment of relative strength, perhaps by seeking the advice of eminent experts or through creation of supra-national bodies similar to the International Court of Justice.

Mr Shams-ud Doha, in his speech, observed that the 38th session of the General Assembly was taking place at a time when the international situation, both in the political and economic sense, had often been described as the worst since the Second World War and that it was not without reason that a number of speakers recent days had recalled those sad and bitter days of the 1930s which presaged the outbreak of the Secon World War. He observed that however close the parallel might be, the world did not stand still during these past fifty years. "The 1980s are not the 1930s and the United Nations is not the League of Nations," he added.

#### Sovereign States

The essential difference, he said, was the emergence during the last half century of more than one hundred sovereign member states, whose presence at the United Nations acted as a force of restraint and moderation in international affairs giving the world body its strength and moral authority. He regretted that the effectiveness of the United Nations system was being eroded in the area of maintaining international peace and security and expressed concern and alarm at the drift away from multilateral cooperation and multilateral institutions towards bilateralism.

The three great continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America constituted major force in world events both politically and economically, the leader of the Bangladesh delegation said. He observed that these countries which made up more than three-fourths of the population of this globe, could become a powerful and effective force towards the maintenance of peace and stability in times of distress and conflict. He thought that our inability to recognise this immediate reality at times had caused to only the spirit of international cooperation but also the effectiveness of the United Nations to suffer.

#### UN Charter

The Foreign Minister said that Bangladesh believed that the moral authority of the United Nations based on the principles embodied in the UN Charter should be its greatest strength. He wanted to see the development of a code of conduct for the United Nations, member-states which would permit no nation to take the law into its own hand.

The Foreign Minister said that Non-aligned Movement has championed the cause of peace and justice since its inception and that its growing membership and consistent principles have established its natural role in sustaining peace and diffusing global tension.

Mr Doha said that in the 1950s and 1960s have witnessed tremendous developments throughout the North, but the capacity of the developed countries to grow in any meaningful manner during 1970s and the 1980s was inextricably and inexorably linked to the fate of the developing countries.

In his opinion, the reason for this was that the growth and development of the developing countries provided the dynamic element of growth for the entire international community. For developing countries to grow and develop, he said, two requirements must be fulfilled. First, creation of conditions of peace and stability and the other creation and maintenance of reasonable confidence in the economic system which would assist us all. Both the requirements are inter-related and interdependent, he added.

#### North-South Dialogue

The Bangladesh Foreign Minister regretted the lack of progress in North-South dialogue aimed at international economic cooperation inspite of the considerable flexibility and pragmatism that marked the outcome of the New Delhi summit and the Buenos Aires meeting. He said that hopes were raised when at the Williamsburg Summit the importance of the role of South the global nature of the current international economic crisis and the extent of inter-dependence between the North and the South were clearly acknowledged. He said that in the UNCTAD-VI in Belgrade also there was general agreement as regards the nature of the crisis and, in general terms remedial steps that were required although the conference faltered in the area of concrete measures.

The Minister felt that with regard to launching of the global negotiations there was an immediate need for close consultations within the framework of



the United Nations, particularly during the current session of the General Assembly. As a practical strategy for such negotiations, he advocated that in the beginning negotiations should be concentrated on exploiting those areas where agreement already existed or where agreement was possible.

Turning to specific political issues before the General Assembly the leader of the Bangladesh delegation said, 'the persistent presence of colonialism and racism in Southern Africa was an outrage to humanity. He pledged unstinted support of Bangladesh to the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa for freedom, liberty and human dignity.

Mr Shams-ud Doha said 'Bangladesh could not condone the right of states to interfere in the affairs of other states, and had therefore consistently voted against the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. He urged that the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea be permitted to determine the governments of their choice without the presence or threat of foreign troops.

#### Palestine

The Foreign Minister said that Bangladesh was "dismayed when the sanctity of frontier was so brutally violated by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. 'He warned that there could be no Israeli troops from the Lebanese territory.

The leader of the Bangladesh delegation stated that Bangladesh position on the question of Palestine was clear and unequivocal. Bangladesh had consistently maintained that any just and lasting peace in the area must be based on the acceptance by all parties of the fact that the question of Palestine lied at the heart of the crisis, that the acquisition of territory by force imposed an obligation on Israel to withdraw completely and immediately from all occupied Arab territories including the holy city of Jerusalem, and that the Palestinian people must have their inalienable right to self-determination including their right to have state of their own under the leadership of PLO their sole and legitimate representative. He strongly condemned the continued occupation by Israel of Palestine and Arab territories and establishment of settlement in Occupied territories.

Observing that the war between Iraq and Iran had not only brought in its trail untold sufferings and destruction to the peoples of these two countries but had also cast a shadow on the prospect of peace and security, Foreign Minister Doha made a renewed appeal to both Iran and Iraq to take full advantage of the many initiatives which had been placed at their disposal to bring this conflict to an end.

Mr. Shams-ud Doha said that the lack of progress in the inter-communal talks between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities had been a cause for concern and urged both the communities to engage in meaningful discussion for reaching a mutually acceptable solution of the problem. He warned that "unless there is some progress in the inter-communal talks in the immediate future, the situation in Cyprus might take an irreversible turn'.

## KAL Plane

On the recent tragedy involving a South Korean civilian airliner, Mr. Shams-ud Doha said that the incident was a manifestation of the brinkmanship to which he were prone at a time when all of us were engaged in avoiding conflicts in area where peace existed at its critical limits. He felt that incidents of this type posed a direct and serious threat to global peace and security. It was a must, therefore, that ways and means to avoid recurrence of such unfortunate incidents were found, he added.

The Foreign Minister said that Bangladesh in her efforts to build a solid base for the relaxation of regional and international tension had always supported the creation of zones of peace and nuclear free zones in various parts of the world. Bangladesh had also supported the UN Declaration on the establishment of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

## Bangladesh

Explaining the developments in Bangladesh, the Foreign Minister informed the General Assembly that during the past 18 months our efforts had focussed on three broad fronts namely reorganisation of the local administration, taking government nearer to the people, implementation of various measures geared to make the country self-reliant in particular in the area of food production and stepping up of a country-wide family planning programme in order to bring down the growth of population.

These steps he said were aimed at moving swiftly towards strengthening our representative institutions which had always formed an integral part of our society. He informed the Assembly that local government elections would be held throughout Bangladesh in this winter. These would be followed by elections in March 1985.

Turning to regional matters the Foreign Minister informed the General Assembly that Bangladesh had joined six other countries of the South Asia in promoting regional cooperation.

The Foreign Minister concluded his speech by saying that he would like to see restored a sense of respect for the dignity of man and for human life, a sense of respect for the equality of man and his right to pursue a life of his choice and some healthy human values so that we could all treat each other as human being with compassion and understanding.

## Meeting With Faysal

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 7 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] NEW YORK, Oct 6 (BSS): Foreign Minister Mr. A. R. Shams-ud-Doha had a meeting here yesterday with the Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, Prince Saud al-Faisal.

The two foreign ministers are presently in New York to lead their respective countries' delegations to the 38th session of the UN General Assembly.

At the meeting lasting for about an hour, two ministers had an extensive exchange of views on the agenda items before the assembly. They also availed themselves of this opportunity to discuss bilateral relations between the two brotherly countries and to review the current international situation including the Middle East.

The foreign ministers also discussed the forthcoming 14th Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference to be held in Dhaka in December.

#### Meeting With Secretary General

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 9 Oct 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] NEW YORK, Oct. 8:--Foreign Minister Mr. A. R. Shams-ud-Doha had a meeting with the United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar at the UN Headquarters here yesterday reports BSS.

During the meeting, the Bangladesh Foreign Minister and the Secretary General exchanged views on the international economic situation and also discussed the possible measures likely to be taken during the current General Assembly session to improve the situation.

The Permanent Representative of Bangladesh to the U.N. Lt. Gen. (Retd) Khwaja Wasiuddin and the Deputy Permanent Representative Ambassador Farooq Sobhan were present during the meeting.

The Secretary General noted that world leaders attending the 38th session had devoted a substantial degree of their time to the international economic situation. He expressed satisfaction with the exchange of views on economic situation that had taken place in the informal gathering of world leaders that had taken place in New York at the initiatives of Mrs. Gandhi.

The Secretary General expressed his appreciation and satisfaction with the role that Bangladesh had played as Chairman of the Group of 77. He recalled that he himself, the Director General for International Economic Cooperation and Development and the UN Secretariat as a whole had worked very closely with Ambassador Sobhan. This close cooperation had led to some positive results he said.

The Foreign Minister now attending the 38th session, thanked the Secretary General for his kind words and for the help and assistance that Bangladesh had received from him, the Director General and the UN Secretariat. He mentioned the very successful working breakfast which he has hosted a few days earlier at which a number of Foreign Ministers from both North and South had participated. He indicated that this meeting as well as the statements made by leaders showed that there was broad agreement on the need for concrete

measures to be taken in the economic sphere within the framework of the United Nations and at this session of the General Assembly.

The Bangladesh Foreign Minister briefed the Secretary General about the efforts at promoting South Asian regional cooperation and referred to the four meetings of Foreign Secretaries held so far and to the first meeting of South Asian Foreign Ministers that had taken place last month in New Delhi. He said that at this meeting the Foreign Ministers had adopted a programme of action in nine specific areas. He mentioned that a summit of South Asian leaders would take place next year. Mr. Doha emphasised the importance of these efforts to promote regional cooperation in South Asia notwithstanding the ups and downs in the bilateral relations of the member states.

The Secretary General and the Foreign Minister also exchanged views on the Cyprus problem. Concern was expressed at the continuing stalemate and the need for immediate action.

The Bangladesh Foreign Minister referred to the forthcoming Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference in Dhaka and expressed his satisfaction that the United Nations would be represented at this meeting.

#### Luncheon for FMs

Another report adds: Foreign Minister Mr. A. R. Shams-ud Doha who is leading the Bangladesh delegation to the 38th UN General Assembly Thursday hosted a luncheon for the Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors of the Group of 77 member states.

The meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Group of 77 countries is on session at the United Nations Headquarters.

Among those present at the luncheon were Foreign Minister of Argentina Juan R. Agrir re-Lanari Foreign Minister of Algeria, Mr. Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia Lazar Morsov Foreign Minister of Trinidad and Tobago Basilince, Foreign Minister of Uganad Algert Picho Owiny, Special Adviser for International Economic Affairs to the President of Venezuela Perez Guerrepo, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade of Jamaica N. Galimore and Deputy Minister for Economic Affairs of Mexico Jorge Navarrete.

Besides the host, the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, the Deputy Minister of Mexico and the Chairman of the Group of 77 and Deputy Permanent Representative of Bangladesh Ambassador Farooq Sobhan spoke on the occasion.

The speakers focussed on the current global economic crisis and emphasised on the need for strengthening South South cooperation. They also stressed on the need for taking concrete measures during the current General Assembly session for promoting Economic cooperation among developing countries.

The Bangladesh Foreign Minister wished Mexico all success as the next Chairman of the Group of 77. It may be mentioned that Mexico takes over as the chairman of the Group of 77 in New York from Bangladesh next week for a one-year term.

FOREIGN MINISTER ADDRESSES GROUP OF 77 IN NEW YORK

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 8 Oct 83, pp 1, 12

[Text] NEW YORK, Oct 7:--Foreign Minister A. R. Shamsud Doha proposed a twenty-point programme for implementation by the members of the Group of 77 during the next year for strengthening of cooperation among the developing countries, reports BSS.

He called upon the members of the Group to realise the self-evident need to galvanize and strengthen their own efforts at forging greater collective self-reliance and to realign their economies to facilitate greater interaction and closer relationships in the economic field for common benefit.

Mr. Doha was delivering his opening speech at the annual meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Group of 77 members which began yesterday under his Chairmanship.

The meeting will conclude on October 10 when ministers are expected to adopt a joint declaration.

With the inclusion of the newest member St. Christopher and Nevis the Group of 77 now consists of 126 members.

In his 20-point proposal, the Foreign Minister put forward concrete measures in various sectors of economic activities of the member countries which were needed to be implemented immediately to intensify economic and technical cooperation among the member countries of the group. These proposals included intensification of a technical cooperation programme among developing countries in specific areas identified in the technical meetings in energy, technology and industrial manpower training using the formats organisation and communication channels of the Multi-Sectional Information Network (MSIN)

--A weekly publication of up-to-date information on international tenders for development projects in the member states of the Group of 77.

--The publication in the Group of 77 industrial bulletin

--The preparation and publication of country and regional ECDC profile containing basic socio-economic indicators and identifying specific cooperation opportunities.

--The early formation and activation of the action committees on cooperation in fossil fuels.

--The completion of consultations on the size scope and modalities of the bank of developing countries (the south bank) by the end of March 1984.

--Completion of regional consultations for establishing schemes among developing countries for acquiring and maintaining food reserves at the regional and sub-regional levels as recommended by the technical meetings.

--Concrete measures for the formation of multinational marketing enterprises (MMES) in various sectors.

--Intensification of efforts to begin the Global System of Trade Preferences (GSIP) negotiations immediately.

--Adoption of a joint research programme by Third World research institutes in support of the Caracas Programme of Action to be coordinated by the office of the Chairman of the Group of 77 in New York.

--Examination of the possibility of disseminating ECDC information through cooperation of national focal points with the Chairman of the Group of 77 in New York so as to create wide public awareness on South-South Cooperation throughout the developing world.

Mr. Doha also made an appeal to the member countries to make special efforts to increase by 10 per cent their trade with other developing countries during the next 12 months.

The Foreign Minister gave a resume of the efforts and initiatives taken by Bangladesh during its tenure as Chairman of the Group of 77 for the implementation of the Caracas Programme of Action (CPA) for Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries (EODC).

CSO: 4600/1145

FOREIGN MINISTER ON NEPAL'S APPEAL TO UN

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER IN English ... 9 Oct 83 p 4

[Text] UNITED NATIONS (New York) Oct. 8:--Nepal renewed its appeal Friday at the United Nations to be recognized as a zone of peace, reports AFP.

Speaking to the UN General Assembly, Foreign Minister Padma Bahadur Khatri said that "this proposition is consistent not only with our traditional national ethos but also with the principles of non-alignment and the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

"The zone of peace proposition will not only help institutionalize peace in our country, thus enabling us to meet the growing challenges of development in an atmosphere of security and stability, but will also contribute to the cause of peace and stability in the neighbourhood".

Reviewing the international situation, Mr. Khatri stressed "the disastrous consequences" of the arms race and the urgent need to halt it without delay. Mentioning the recent shooting down of the Korean airliner, he said that it was "the tragedy of our time, that even the simple norms of international conduct are often violated at the expense of human welfare". He added that this was a "regrettable case" and deplored "the tensions that have been generated by that event".

In dealing with economic issues, Mr. Khatri said that the outcome of UNCTAD-VI had been received with a "mixed feeling" by Nepal which had hoped that the industrialized countries would have responded in a positive manner to the proposals put forth by the Group of 77.

CSO: 4600/1138



DOHA ADDRESSES ISLAMIC FOREIGN MINISTERS IN NEW YORK

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 12 Oct 83 pp 1, 12

[Text]

NEW YORK, Oct. 11.—Foreign Minister Mr. A.R. Shams ud Doha has expressed confidence that the Dhaka meeting of the Islamic Foreign Ministers in December would make an effective contribution towards further strengthening the unity, fraternity and solidarity of the Islamic countries for achievement of their common objectives, reports BSS.

Holding of the 14th Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference in two months time is a matter of great honour for Bangladesh, he said at a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of OIC countries at the UN headquarters here on Monday.

Mr. Doha said that Bangladesh was committed to the values of Islam as an integral part of the way of life and that the Islamic heritage was an important source of inspiration in guiding the country's internal and external affairs.

In pursuit of this policy, he said, Bangladesh has consistently expressed her complete solidarity with the Islamic world and has made all possible efforts to promote the cherished objectives of the Islamic Ummah.

Mr. Doha informed the Foreign Ministers that preparations for the Dhaka conference were nearly complete. Despite our known constraints, we have made every effort for the successful holding of the conference, he said and expressed his deep appreciation for the continued help and cooperation which Bangladesh had received from all the member countries and the OIC Secretariat.

The Bangladesh Foreign Minister referred to the practice to hold OIC ministerial meetings in New York during the regular sessions of the UN General Assembly every year and said such meeting provide us with an useful opportunity for exchanging views on matters of common interest and for effective preparations and coordinated action during the session.

The New York meeting of Foreign Ministers focused mainly on the problem of Palestine and the Middle East, the situation in Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq conflict and the situation in the Horn of Africa.

Underlining the implications of these issues on the Islamic world, Mr. Shams ud Doha said that his country's position on them had been "firm, consistent and unequivocal." He emphasised the need for the adoption of concrete measures for the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the OIC. "Bangladesh, on its part, would be ready to extend its fullest cooperation to this end," he declared.

The Foreign Ministers also discussed the financial situation of the OIC Secretariat.

Earlier, the meeting was inaugurated by the Foreign Minister of Niger and Chairman of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (ICFM).

Mr. Daouda Diallo. In his address, he gave an assessment of the international developments especially those having direct implications on the Islamic world.

The Secretary General of OIC, Mr. Habib Chatty also made a statement giving a brief resume of the current situation in the Islamic world.

During the day-long meeting with a morning and afternoon session, a number of other Foreign Ministers also spoke.

FINANCE MINISTER MEETS PRESS ON RETURN FROM U.S.

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 8 Oct 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] "Climate for international aid remains inhospitable" and if such a situation continued the share of the domestic resources in the total investment outlay of the country would have to be expanded. Minister for Finance and Planning A. M. A. Muhith said in Dhaka on Friday, reports BSS.

Talking to newsmen on his return from Washington after attending the annual joint meeting of the World Bank and IMF, the Finance Minister described the meeting "most depressing" the era had.

Mr. Muhith said that the broad issues before the meeting were creation of additional liquidity and Special Drawing Right but he said the meeting ended inconclusively since one of the largest donors to the bank and fund did not agree on the issues.

He said that issue of IDA-7 replenishment would be decided in a meeting of the donor countries in November. It was deferred because the United States suggested substantial reduction of its contribution.

The size of the IDA-7 replenishment would be 16 billion dollar out of which 12 billion dollar had been sought from the U.S. as her share, the Minister said.

Mr. Muhith said the other issue which dominated the meeting was the resources of the International Monetary Fund and the U.S. contribution of 8.4 billion dollar was hanging before the Congress for approval.

He said the Saudi contribution of three billion dollars could also be activated if its demand for a matching contribution from the industrially developed countries were fulfilled.

The Minister said the U.S. President Ronald Reagan in his speech however loudly indicated his country's support and urged the Congress to pass the IMF bill. That is what makes us a little hopeful he said.

Mr. Muhith said that the U.S. Secretary of Treasury Mr. Donald Regan also made a statement to the Press indicating U.S. contribution to IDA-7 replenishment.

The Minister said that the General Arrangement Borrowing (GAB) of the IMF could also be activated when the new quota is there. In the past there has been high access of the developing countries to the quota Mr. Muhith said adding but there was demand for reduction of the access limit. Finally a compromise was however, arrived at at the meeting on the issue of access to quota he said.

Asked to comment on the impact of non-availability of IDA and IMF funds on Bangladesh, the Minister said Bangladesh is the second largest borrower from IDA fund and if there was no agreement on IDA-7 replenishment the total resources availability of the country will fall by 25 per cent.

This year, the Minister said, Bangladesh would get 400 to 450 million U.S. dollar and may be we would get closer to the target. The projection of 1948-85 would be 362 million dollar, he said.

Turning to IMF, Mr. Muhith said we are not asking for any assistance from the IMF this year but heavy repayment would start from next year and non-availability of resources would also affect our access.

On the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' conference at Port of Spain Trinidad which he attended before going to Washington, the Finance Minister said the meeting identified measures which could be taken for recasting international trade and repayment. He said that the meeting considered the special study commissioned by the previous year's meeting as suggested by New Zealand's Prime Minister Robert Mouldoon.

CSO: 4600/1145

BANGLADESH STAND AT MONTREAL ICAO MEET EXPLAINED

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 13 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Bangladesh has called upon the members of the International Civil Aviation Organisation to refrain from further politicising the "Korean Airlines (KAL) incident" issue, which, it fears, is likely to compromise the basic character of this technical body.

Bangladesh urged the members to devote more attention to finding ways and means for preventing recurrence of tragic incidents of this nature in future in line with the resolution of the extraordinary session of the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO).

Bangladesh took firm stand in the 24th general session of the ICAO which concluded on October 10, in Montreal, Canada. The session began on 20th September.

Bangladesh also expressed its reservation over the two resolutions passed by the assembly relating to the KAL incident, in which 269 passengers aboard and the resolutions adopted by the Executive Council on September 16 last which fixed the responsibility of the Soviet Union for the incident.

The resolution adopted in the Executive Council "expressed concern that the Soviet Union has not so far acknowledged the paramount importance of the safety and lives of passengers and crew when dealing with civil aircraft intercepted in or near its territorial air space."

Bangladesh expressed its reservation by saying that the preambular clause introduced an element of bias. The second resolution which directed the Director General of the ICAO to institute investigation to determine the facts and technical aspects relating to the flight. Bangladesh described the fact that the investigation should not limit to "technical aspects" but should include all facts, legal as well.

The Leader of the Bangladesh delegation has maintained that all facts must be taken into consideration before amending Chicago convention to check the interception of the civil aircraft by using the military weapons.

The session also directed the Director General of the ICAO to submit preliminary investigation report before the Council within one month and final report within 110 days of the adoption of the resolution.

The Council in a resolution said civil aircraft should not be intercepted by the military weapons.

CSO: 4600/1144

POSITION OF FOREIGN AID COMMITMENT, DISBURSEMENT TOLD

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 1 Oct 83 pp 5, 7

[Article by S. M. A. Hakim]

[Text] Bangladesh, a least developed country with highest density of population, had depended heavily on external assistance to accelerate its development and other related activities. The country's agro-based economy has to be revamped at all costs for its very survival.

A substantial portion of aid, loan and grant goes for financing food import to make good the shortfall in the production of food grains. This has a serious impact on development activities particularly when 15.20 lakh tons of foodgrain has to be imported with a payment of Tk 600-700 crore a year.

A look into the very nature of aid flow and its use and utilisation will conclusively prove that the country's economy is in a vulnerable position. The country has become so much dependent on foreign aid that a slightest change in the international situation will jeopardise the economy and disrupt the internal development activities.

For a developing country like Bangladesh where the domestic savings are still at a very low level, it is not possible to attain the desired economic growth without foreign assistance. Total foreign aid commitment during the period from December 16, 1971 to June, 1983 amounted to 14674.7 million dollars (1982-83 estimate) of which food aid amounted to 2799.4 million dollars, non-project aid 4499. million dollars and project aid 7376.3 million dollars.

Out of the total commitment of foreign aid, grants stood at 76487.1 million dollars and loans at 8187.6 million dollars.

10 Billion Dollars

The total disbursement of foreign aid during the period from December 16, 1971 to June, 1982 stood at 10335.5 million dollars (1982-83 estimates) of which food aid amounted to \$3504.4 million. Out of total disbursement, grants amounted to \$5300.6 million or 51.29 percent, while loans stand at \$5034.9 million, or 48.71 percent.

Below is the position of total foreign aid commitment and disbursement during the period from 1971-72 to 1982-83:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Commitment</u>			<u>Disbursement</u>		
	<u>Grants</u>	<u>Loans</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Grants</u>	<u>Loans</u>	<u>Total</u>
1971-72	512.7 (83.82)	99.0 (16.18)	611.7(100)	245.1 (90.51)	25.7 ( 9.49)	270.8(100)
1972-73	484.0 (54.67)	401.3 (45.30)	885.3(100)	486.4 (88.21)	65.0 (11.79)	551.4(100)
1973-74	106.7 (19.35)	444.7 (80.65)	551.3(100)	218.6 (47.39)	242.7 (52.61)	461.3(100)
1974-75	345.2 (27.16)	925.6 (72.84)	1270.8(100)	374.9 (41.60)	526.4 (58.40)	9013 (100)
1975-76	385.5 (39.96)	579.1 (60.04)	964.6(100)	324.6 (29.03)	573.5 (70.97)	808.1(100)
1976-77	415.5 (55.76)	329.6 (44.24)	745.1(100)	253.9 (47.63)	279.2 (52.37)	533.1(100)
1977-78	451.3 (38.68)	715.5 (61.32)	1166.8(100)	392.9 (47.41)	435.8 (52.59)	828.7(100)
1978-79	961.2 (53.72)	828.0 (46.28)	1789.2(100)	501.6 (48.69)	528.5 (51.31)	1030.1(100)
1979-80	521.5 (44.25)	657.0 (55.75)	1178.5(100)	652.3 (53.37)	570.0 (46.63)	1222.3(100)
1980-81	600.9 (36.64)	1038.9 (63.36)	1639.8(100)	594.4 (51.81)	552.2 (48.19)	1147.3(100)
1981-82	819.1 (42.15)	1124.0 (57.85)	1943.1(100)	650.3 (52.61)	585.8 (47.39)	1236.1(100)
1982-83	883.5 (45.81)	1045.0 (54.19)	1928.5(100)	695.6 (51.72)	649.4 (48.28)	1345.0(100)
(Estimated)	6487.1	8187.6	14674.7	5300.6 (51.29)	5034.9 (48.71)	10335.5(100)

(Figures in the brackets indicate percentages)

Sources: External Resources Division.



The developing nations usually prefer productive project aid and food aid instead of military and other non-productive aid which in fact has no relation with the development activities of the country. Economists suggest that it is the international responsibilities of the advanced industrialised nations to extend cooperation by giving aid to the poor developing countries under soft terms and conditions so that they can bear the burden. Such a situation in fact, gives rise to the proposition of a "New international economic order".

Generally foreign capital inflow had positive effect on savings and income both at the aggregate and sectoral level. But it is found that in other cases there was no significant relationship between the rate of growth of income and foreign capital inflow in Bangladesh.

Nevertheless, the paramount question is to what extent foreign capital inflow has laid the foundation of future growth in income and savings in income and savings so that the recipient country can look forward within a reasonable period of time towards achievement of self-sustained growth to make payment of the foreign debt liabilities.

The crux of the whole issue for the recipient country would be to make a rational policy for productive utilisation of such foreign capital inflow.

#### Disadvantages

We find that there are some inherent disadvantages in the inflow of foreign aid and assistance such as: (a) the aid recipient countries often are forced to adopt technologies that are not consistent with its own resource endowment; (b) the technological dependence may be used by the donor countries even after the cessation of capital inflow to extract political and economic favour from the aid recipients; and (c) finally the aid recipient countries may be forced to follow the same cycle of technological obsolescence as the advanced countries at a very heavy resource costs.

The developing nations, therefore, have to be very much cautious in the matter of receipt and utilisation of foreign aid.

CSO: 4600/1125

JAPAN MAINTAINS LEVEL OF AID TO BANGLADESH

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 11 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] Bangladesh will receive a grant of Taka 32.2 crore from Japan for procurement of rice and fishing net manufacturing machinery under two separate exchange of notes signed between the two countries in Dhaka on Monday, reports BSS.

Of the total amount Tk. 30.2 crore will be utilised for procurement of rice and the rest Taka two crore for fishing net manufacturing machinery.

Grant for rice had been extended to Bangladesh under the food aid convention of 1980 (known as Kennedy Round Programme) which provides food support to the developing countries. Under the grant rice will be purchased from Burma, Thailand and Pakistan. The grant also covers the cost of transportation.

The project grant for fishing net manufacturing machinery will be utilised by the Bangladesh Fisheries Development Corporation for establishment of two net factories in Khulna and Chittagong.

Japan is maintaining a steady level of aid to Bangladesh and with the signing of the two notes the total Japanese assistance to Bangladesh since 1971 reaches approximately Taka 723 crore, in addition Bangladesh has received approximately Taka 2034 crore as commodity and project loans from Japan since 1973.

The exchange of notes were signed by the Additional Secretary of the External Resources Division, Mr. K. M. Rabban and the Japanese Ambassador Mr. Shunji Kobayashi on behalf of their respective countries.

CSO: 4600/1137

## PREPARATIONS AFOOT FOR DECEMBER ISLAMIC CONFERENCE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 3 Oct 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Mr. Habib Chatti, Secretary General, Organisation of the Islamic Conference has formally extended invitation to the member countries of the OIC for the Foreign Ministers meeting to be held in Dhaka from December 6.

Mr. A. R. S. Doha, Bangladesh Foreign Minister has also written personal letters to his counterparts in the OIC inviting them to attend the conference.

Meanwhile preparation for holding the conference the biggest international meet to be held in Dhaka is in the final stage.

Senior officials of the OIC secretariat will have a working meeting in Dhaka on December 4 and 5 to prepare the agenda of the Foreign Ministers conference.

Besides the Foreign Ministers representatives from Nigeria, Benin, Moro Liberation of the Philippines and Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (Kibris) will attend the conference as observers.

Elaborate security arrangements are also being made. Special arrangements will be made at the Zia international airport for expeditious immigration clearance of the heads of the delegations. A new VVIP lounge is now being constructed at the airport to provide special facilities to leaders and other important members of the delegations.

Hotel Sonargaon and Hotel Intercontinental will remain closed to public from December 1 to December 11. Heads of the delegation will stay at Sonargaon and other members will stay at Hotel Intercontinental. Members of Media will stay at Hotel Purbani.

Special arrangements are being made to serve special food to the guests. The two hotels will be given special permit to import mineral water and other types of food and beverage.

The 14th Foreign Ministers conference will be inaugurated by the Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad on December 6 which coincides with the first day of the lunar month of Rabiul Awaj (the holy month of the birth and wafat of Prophet Mohammad (SM) of 1404 Hijrah.

To meet the transport requirement of the leaders and other members of the delegation a fleet of 211 vehicles is being imported. A post conference committee will decide about the disposal of the cars to various public organisations.

To review the arrangements of the conference a high level team of the OIC is expected to visit Dhaka by the end of the current month. Over 200 staff from the OIC secretariat will be in the capital. Of the 200 people about 150 will be technical staff. They will be acting as interpreters typist translator and verbatim reporters.

The Bangladesh government on its part is giving special training to over 300 persons for the special handling required for the conference. Each delegation will be looked after by a liaison officer. About 80 liaison officers are being trained. There will be about 60 conference guides. The drivers to be attached to each cars are also being given special training. The conference after the inaugural function will split into five sessions which would run simultaneously. Apart from the plenary session four other committees of the OIC namely political committee, economic committee cultural committee and finance and administrative committee will hold meeting at the same time.

Special functions are also being arranged for the conference. There will be a grand tattoo show, a cultural function export fair civic reception and an exhibition of Islamic arts and crafts at the new Dhaka museum.

All the security agencies in the country will be engaged in the "special security plan" as the entire responsibility of providing security to the Foreign Ministers of the OIC member countries and other members of their delegations lies on Bangladesh Government as the host to the conference.

To maintain strict security in the 'double cordon' areas special identity cards will be issued to the leaders and members of the delegations. Special passes will be issued for entry to the security zones to Bangladeshi nationals engaged in the conference activities.

The National Assembly Building at Sher-e-Bangla Nagar the venue of the conference is now getting the finishing touch. The Baitul Mukarram Mosque is now being renovated and the work of decorating the road from airport to Sonargaon and Inter-continental Hotels and to Bangabhaban is going in full swing.

To plan, supervise and arrange the big international event in the capital two committees had been formed one under the Chairmanship of Foreign Minister Mr. A R Shams-ud-Doha and Additional Foreign Secretary Mr. Faruq Ahmed Chowdhury as Chief Coordinator and the other under the Chairmanship of Home Minister Major General A. Mannan Siddiqui and Additional Inspector General of Police Mr. A K M Moslehuddin as Chief Security Coordinator. The first committee is responsible for the general arrangement of the conference and the second committee has been given the charge of the security side during the conference.

CSO: 4600/1126

PAPER REPORTS ERSHAD SPEECHES OF 3 OCTOBER

Pardon for 'Misguided'

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 4 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] KHAGRACHARI Oct. 3:--The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad today declared a pardon for the misguided persons in Chittagong Hill Tracts to bring them back to normal life for a happy re-union with their parents and families, reports BSS.

He said the pardon will remain effective from October 3 to February 25 next when the misguided persons can surrender to the security forces in any of the camps in the area or to the local civilian authorities. They can also surrender to the leading members of their localities, he added.

Addressing a huge public gathering here the CMLA said the Government will render help for the socio-economic rehabilitation of those who will surrender and also ensure a normal, decent and undisturbed life for them.

Gen. Ershad said, "Those who will come out of their hideouts and surrender to the authorities has nothing to be afraid of since the Government has come forward with a liberal attitude of forgiveness."

The CMLA announced six points measures for the rehabilitation of the surrenderers. These are: (A) An amount of Taka five thousand will be given to each of them for their livelihood during the first year of surrender, (B) each family will get 21 seers of foodgrains each week for one year (C) five acres of khas lands will be allotted to each of those who wants to live in Chittagong Hill Tracts and take up farming. They will also be provided with agricultural and other loans on nominal interests, (D) willing persons will be provided with jobs in para-military and security forces on the basis of their individual merit, (E) those who are unwilling to take up farming will be provided with opportunities to go abroad with jobs following vocational trainings and (F) they will also be eligible for participation in elections at the union level.

Gen. Ershad also announced that the misguided elements who have been convicted of facing trial will be released within one year from the date of announcement of the pardon.

He made a clarion call to the misguided and deviated persons to take advantage of the pardon and start a new life with active participation in nation-building activities. They are our children and brothers and we want them on our side in our efforts to build a new Bangladesh," he added.

The CMLA said that his government is determined to create a peaceful atmosphere by ending all hostilities in the Hill Tracts area "I have already directed the Zonal Martial Law Administrator Zone C and the Divisional Commissioner to establish contacts and undertake negotiations with the misguided elements to bring them back to the mainstream of normal life, he added.

He noted with satisfaction that committees of tribal convention have been formed at central, district, upazilla and union levels which are now discussing in details the Government plan for creating a peaceful atmosphere in the area. He hoped that the efforts of these committees will be successful.

The CMLA declared in unequivocal terms that the Chittagong Hill Tracts is an inseparable part of Bangladesh and bound by Bangladeshi nationalism. Our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity can never be negotiated or compromised and we are determined to preserve them at all cost and at all time, he asserted.

In an emotion choked voice, Gen. Ershad said "We all irrespective of our religion, caste and creed are Bangladeshis". He told the cheering crowd, "We have been living together in this land since the dawn of history in peace and harmony. We remained together facing the challenge of time on many occasions and we shall remain so forever".

The Minister for Local Government, Rural Development, Cooperatives and Religious Affairs, Mr. Mahbubur Rahman the Home Minister, Major General Abdul Mannan Siddiqui and the Zonal Martial Law Administrator, Zone 'C' Major General Abdul Mannaf, were present on the occasion.

#### Chittagong Hill Tract Districts

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 4 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] KHAGRACHARI, Oct. 3:--The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad said here today that Khagrachari will be made a district which will start functioning from next month reports BSS.

Announcing this amidst thunderous applause at a huge public gathering, the CMLA said "this step has been taken in fulfilment of the long-felt hopes and aspirations of the people of this area."

Gen. Ershad whose speech was frequently punctuated by cheers said there will be now three districts in the Chittagong Hill Tracts namely Khagrachari Rangamati and Bandarban. He said the new Khagrachari district will consist of Ramgarh and Khagrachari subdivisions.

Thousands of people including women and children from far-flung hilly areas thronged the meeting venues here and also at Rangamati and Bandarban to listen to Gen Ershad.

Children dressed in colourful tribal costumes welcomed the CMLA presenting bouquets and waving mullicoloured streamers. The people who were waiting to listen to the CMLA raised full-throated welcome slogans as he arrived at the meeting places.

Tribal leaders who spoke at these gatherings to welcome Gen. Ershad extended their whole-hearted support to him and the programmes undertaken by his government particularly for the development of the Chittagong Hill Tract areas.

### Improvements in Tribal Life

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 4 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] RANGAMATI, Oct. 3:--The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad, today announced a package of special measures for the socio-economic development of the Hill Tract areas which will be developed as a "special economic zone" reports BSS.

Addressing huge public gatherings at Rangamati and Bandarban, the CMLA said the Government has prepared a special Five Year Plan for the economic development of the Hill Tract areas and improving the overall condition of the tribal people.

Amidst cheers and thunderous applause, Gen. Ershad said the special Five-Year Plan provides for setting up more industries including cottage industries, development of agriculture and cooperatives in the area with active participation of the local people.

Besides the CMLA said, increased allocations have been made in the current Annual Development Programme and the national Five-Year Plan for the overall development of the tribal areas. He also announced some special measures for increase job facilities and educational opportunities for the tribal people.

On education, he said, three to five residential primary schools will be set up in each district of the areas and residential facilities will also be created for the secondary school students at each upazila. The Government had decided to introduce residential scholarships for the purpose, he added.

Gen. Ershad said seats will be reserved for the tribal boys and girls at the rate of 12 in medical colleges, six in engineering colleges, six in agricultural colleges three in cadet colleges three in girls cadet colleges, 30 in polytechnic institutes and 20 per cent in Rangamati para-medical institute.

Speaking about the creation of increased job facilities for the tribal people, the CMLA said, guidelines will be formulated providing for their employments at specific rate in each industrial and commercial units of the area.



In Government jobs, he said, one to five per cent vacancies will be reserved for the tribal people. Five persons from the tribal areas will get opportunity to go abroad with jobs on the basis of merit each year, he added.

The CMLA said the Government will prepare a new "Hill Tracts Manual" suiting the needs of the tribal people and capable of preserving their interests. The Law Minister has already been directed to take steps in this regard. In this connection, he mentioned that the existing manual prepared by the colonial rulers in the year 1900 had failed to protect the interests of the tribal community.

Gen. Ershad reaffirmed his Government's pledge to establish 'real democracy' in the country for the welfare of the workers, peasants and toiling masses. He pointed out that an election schedule has already been announced to lay the firm foundation of the real democracy and urged the people to extend their whole hearted cooperation to the sincere efforts of the Government in this regard.

Referring to the decentralisation of administration and judiciary, he said these measures have already started yielding positive results, beneficial to the people specially those living in the rural areas.

The CMLA said 18-point programme announced by his Government has provided a sense of direction to the nation in its efforts to achieve self-reliance in every sphere. "This is a charter of our survival and its implementation will bring about economic emancipation for the people", he added.

Gen. Ershad reiterated his Government's determination to eliminate corruption from the society. "Our jihad against corruption will continue till this curse is stamped out from the society" he told the gathering.

About the measures undertaken by the Government in education sector, he said the present education system inherited from the colonial era must be recast suiting to the need of the time. He mentioned that increased budgetary allocation has been made for the education sector this year.

The CMLA referred to the sanction of agricultural credit and said this has been done to help the farmers to get more out of their lands. He asked the concerned officials to ensure timely distribution of agricultural loans among the genuine farmers.

He said the land reforms initiated by the present Government will ensure increased production in fields. Now the farmers will enjoy a secured livelihood and none will be able to evict them from their homesteads.

The Minister for Local Government, Rural Development Cooperatives and Religious Affairs, Mr Mahmudur Rahman also spoke on the occasion.

Mr Rahman said the 18-point programme has already received spontaneous support from the people. Its successful implementation will surely bring economic emancipation for the people.

ERSHAD HEADS 18-POINT NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Oct 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Two high-powered national organisations have been formed for smooth and effective functioning of 18-point programme all over the country, reports BSS.

Both the organisations, namely Central Executive Council and Central Working Committee will start functioning with immediate effect.

Chief Martial Law Administrator and C-in-C Lt. General H. M. Ershad will be the Chairman of both the organisations. Rear Admiral M. A. Khan, Chief of Naval Staff and Air Vice-Marshal Sultan Mahmud, Chief of Air Staff will be the Vice-Chairmen and Mr Mahbubur Rahman Minister for Local Government and Rural Development, will be the Secretary-General of the organisations.

The Central Executive Council which will formulate policies and coordinate activities for the implementation of the 18-point programme, will have four other members who are Major General Abdul Mannan Siddiqui Minister for Home Affairs, Air Vice-Marshal (Retd) A. G. Mahmud, Minister for Food Mr AZM Obaidullah Khan Minister for Agriculture and Mr. Zakir Khan Chowdhury.

The Central Working Committee will perform such functions in connection with the implementation of the 18-point programme as may be assigned to it by the Central Executive Council.

Besides the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and Secretary General the working committee will have the following members:

Administrator Dhaka Municipal Corporation (ex-officio), Chairman of all district 18-point implementation committees (ex-officio), Chairman Chittagong Metropolitan 18-point Implementation City Committee (ex-officio), Chairman Dhaka Metropolitan 18-point Implementation Women's Committee (ex-officio) Chairman Chittagong Metropolitan 18-Point Implementation Women's Committee (ex-officio) Mr Jahangir Mohammad Adil Mr M. A. Khaleque, Mr Sirajuddin Mr. Mohammad Salim, Mr Naziur Rahman and Mr Nowab Hossain.

There will be provision for coopting suitable additional members when necessary. Necessary coordination will be carried out under arrangement of ZMLAs of respective zones for organising the district Upazilla and Union Parishad 18-point implementation committees.

ERSHAD 29 SEPTEMBER SPEECH TO BAR ASSOCIATION REPORTED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 30 Sep 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] MYMENSINGH, Sept. 29:--The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad declared today that presidential and parliamentary elections would be held as provided under the suspended constitution, reports BSS.

He said elections to the local bodies will be held under the provisions of the laws enacted for the purpose. He, however, said the local body polls will precede the national level elections as per the schedule announced by the government.

Addressing the members of the Mymensingh Bar Association here, the CMLA said that the Government will keep its commitment of reviving the suspended constitution. There is no scope for any fresh debate on the form of government since the people have given their verdict in favour of the presidential system during the elections held in 1978 and 1981, he added.

Gen. Ershad once again reaffirmed his Government's determination to establish "real democracy" in the country. "The democracy which we are speaking about is the democracy of the masses, democracy of the peasants, workers and teaming millions" he added.

Outlining the new democratic system, he said, it will ensure 2 square meals "coarse clothes shelter, education and medicare facilities for common people. "The democracy we want is the democracy of work and not the democracy of tall talks." he pointed out.

Gen. Ershad said the people have demonstrated their deep love for me. "I am ready to shed the last drop of my blood to honour the love and affection shown by the people to me," he added.

The CMLA said the Government has already taken up steps to establish democracy which include the announcement of election schedule for Union Parishads, Pourashavas, Upazila Parishads and the election at the national level. After the elections, he added, the democratic institutions will be firmly entrenched at the grass roots level. He said the main objectives of these measures are to lay the foundation of democracy on a firm footing so that it never fails in future. From now on the people will control their own destiny, he added.

Gen Ershad told the audience that it is surprising to note that some political parties are opposing the election schedule on the one hand and demanding the establishment of democracy on the other. He said 'I do not find any reason for their opposition. I guess they themselves do not know what they really want'.

He said, in the past these elements tried to confuse the people in the name of democracy. But now the 'self-contradictory role' of these elements have been exposed to the people. And they (people) will no more be misguided by them. Referring to the role played by the lawyers in different critical moments of the national history, the CMLA said the nation expects that the lawyers, being an important section of the society, will make their due contributions towards the socio-economic development of the country. He expressed the hope that they will join the sincere efforts of the Government to fulfil the objective of bringing about economic emancipation for the people.

Outlining various reformative measures undertaken by the present Government during the last 18 months, Gen. Ershad said the administration has been decentralised by recasting the administrative system of the colonial era. This was done to improve the lot of those 90 per cent deprived and neglected population who live in rural Bangladesh. The thanas were upgraded to upazillas resulting in the gearing up of development activities in the villages, he added.

He said in a similar way judiciary has also been decentralised for quick dispensation of justice. Permanent high court benches have been set up in Chittagong, Comilla, Rangpur, Jessore and Barisal while one more bench will be set up in Sylhet. Besides, he added Munsif courts and Magistrate courts are now functioning in all the upazillas which has enabled the people to get justice quickly.

The CMLA reiterated his Government's firm determination to establish rule of law in the country and said with this end in view the Government has already made necessary amendments in the criminal procedure code and civil procedure code. These steps along with separation of judiciary from administration have already started yielding positive results.

Gen. Ershad referred to the 18-point programme and said it has provided the much-needed sense of direction to make the country self-reliant in every sphere. He said this programme does not belong to any individual or group, it is the property of the entire nation. It is now clear to the people that implementation of the programme is the only way to emancipate them from deprivation, exploitation, hunger, poverty, diseases and illiteracy.

Turning to the persecution of women, he said, the Government has already taken effective measures including enactment of laws to stop this social vices. The Government is also considering establishment of family courts, he added.

The CMLA said the Government is determined to ensure participation of women in the development of the country. He noted with satisfaction that women are

also participating in the judicial system. Referring to the appointment of women Magistrates, he hoped that other educated women will follow the example in this regard.

Gen. Ershad assured the lawyers that the Government will actively consider the issue of setting up a permanent high court bench at Mymensingh. He said that the Ministry of Law has already been directed to put up a proposal for this purpose.

The CMLA announced a sanction of Taka four lakh for the development of the Bar Library including purchase of books.

Earlier, the Acting President of the Bar Association, Advocate Afsar Uddin Ahmed hailed various programmes undertaken by the Government and expressed the readiness to work whole heartedly for the implementation of the programmes.

The Law Minister, Mr. K. A. Bakr also spoke on the occasion.

The Home Minister, Major General Abdul Mannan Siddiqui and the Zonal Martial Law Administrator, Zone "A" Major General K. M. Abdul Wahad were present.

Earlier, Gen. Ershad went to Mymensingh Cantonment where he visited an army unit in training. He talked to the officers and men of the unit and enquired about the progress of their training.

CSO: 4600/1123

TEXT OF FINANCE MINISTER'S SPEECH TO WORLD BANK, IMF

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 3 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] A growing conservatism among the major donor countries in their foreign aid policy had gravely jeopardised present and prospective aid flows to the developing countries, Finance and Planning Minister A. M. A. Muhith told the joint World Bank and IMF annual meeting held in Washington recently, reports BSS.

A delayed message received in Dhaka on Sunday said that Bangladesh Minister pointed out that such a conservative approach "perhaps borne out of recession-induced budgetary concerns" hampered the tempo of bilateral and multilateral aid flows--both nonconcessional and concessional.

Mr. Muhith said this was a happening at a time when many of the developing countries had taken severe adjustment measures against tremendous odds--internal as well as external. They, therefore, are badly in need of accelerated capital flows of various kinds suited to their respective situations, he said.

The Finance Minister hoped that the decisions on redirection of aid and easing of modalities of resource transfer agreed in the U.N. LDC conference will soon be acted upon.

Text

Following is the full text of the speech of Mr. A. M. A. Muhith, Finance and Planning Minister at the plenary session of the joint World Bank and IMF annual meeting:

In his messages to the inaugural plenary session of the Bretton Woods conference, President Roosevelt reminded that gathering of economic statesmen that economic diseases are highly communicable. He also told them that their hopes for the future could be fully realised only through a soundly expanding world economy.

During the long years that have since rolled past, the Bretton Woods twins, the World

In describing the economic setting I could almost quote from my statement of the previous year. Perhaps I can add only the following:

--Despite an encouraging resumption of output growth achieved in some major industrial economies especially the heartland of the world economy in North America there is no perceptible impulse towards the deepening of this recovery or its geographical dispersal. A renewed momentum of fixed investment in the industrial economies and a beneficial impact on growth in the developing countries and on world trade are not in sight.

--Despite a truly admirable disinflation achieved in the leading economies of the world a combination of inflationary expectations and anticipation of competing private credit demands and budget deficits is sustaining high real interest rates and exchange rate volatility.

--The historically high level of developing country debt continue to worry borrowers as well as lenders inhibiting capital and trade flows and therefore growth and recovery.

--Decline in international reserves an adverse shift in the availability of international liquidity for developing countries and recession-induced neo-protectionist pressures in some industrial countries militate against the revival of healthy international trade.

--Finally and most poignantly a growing conservatism in many major donor countries about the nature and role of foreign aid perhaps born out of recession-induced budgetary concerns has gravely jeopardised present and prospective aid flows--nonconcessional as well as concessional bilateral as well as multilateral. This is happening at a time when many of the developing countries have taken severe adjustment measures against tremendous odds--internal as well as external. They are therefore badly in need of accelerated capital flows of various kinds suited to their respective situations both to support these adjustment measures and to make possible the resumption of a reasonable investment momentum which has had to be severely depressed in pursuit of adjustment. Austerity in these countries is now threatening social stability.

The actions required to remedy the grave situation in which the world economy finds itself have been widely discussed at various international forums. As nearly all of these actions involve conscious departures from the current policies and practices of individual countries and economic alliances and also from current perceptions of the interests of nations these discussions have almost always been marked by controversy. I believe that today our common peril has deteriorated to a stage where it is dangerous to allow the level of that controversy to rise.

Our experience of the last three years demonstrates that reduced capital transfer has been a very crucial factor in the resurgence of socio-economic primitivism in the developing countries severe adjustment measures too drastic to be repeated again and again are being frustrated by continued slowdown in external financing. Like the concept of sustainable recovery there seems also



to be an equally real concept of sustainable adjustment. The point has been made with admirable candor and compassion by Mr Elaussen. And I am particularly touched because of a certain amount of personal and national experience it bleeds your heart to find expected benefits of bold and imaginative measures being halted halfway by the absence of reasonable expected external financing.

For the low-income countries and the least-developed among them like my own the options are very limited indeed. For us even fund facilities are unduly expensive and commercial borrowing is out of the question. Flow of private capital is so low in our case that we have to fall back on concessional assistance. We stake our claims for soft funds like those of IDA. We are still hoping that decisions on redirection of aid and easing of modalities of resource transfer agreed in the UN IDC conference will soon be acted upon of course patient waiting can only be for a certain period. Because otherwise chaos will sweep us away and surely others of the same species cannot hope to weather the catastrophe without being hurt defense expenditure the annual level of which is about the same as global debt may not in the event provide any cushion for peace and stability.

IDA commitment went up by 24 per cent in 1983 to dollar 3.3 billion. It is however lower even in nominal terms than the commitment level of 1980. But we always count small blessings and so now we are looking forward to resource availability of the same level for 1984. We have been encouraged by the supplementary appropriation of dollar 245 million that the US congress made in 1983. This naturally leads us to believe that appropriation of \$1.1 billion for 1984 will materialise. For IDA lending in 1984 this is so very important.

It is regrettable that there is no agreement yet on the seventh replenishment of I.D.A. And we have only three more months to conclude it in order to avoid a further hiatus in 1985. IDA's credentials have never been questioned. IDA's value to the underprivileged need not be restated. The founding fathers of IDA and its early managers deserve the gratitude of humanity. This mechanism for resource transfer for conceived in the U.S. Congress, and let us hope that in its hour of crisis it will once again receive adequate support there. Claims on IDA have vastly expanded, both on account of enlarged membership and on account of needs of vital and critical sectors. China is a new and deserving claimant. Sub-Saharan Africa and the Least Developed Countries need special attention IDA has a contributor community of 33 members, some of whom at one time were IDA recipients. The burden sharing today is much more equitable and fair so that no one is called upon to shoulder a disproportionate burden.

Looking at the requirements, a replenishment of dollar 20 billion would have been amply justified. But the financial difficulties of contributors spawned by the continued recession must also be acknowledged. So it seems that views have converged on a three-year replenishment of dollar [figure indistinct] million. This will mean only dollar 1 billion more in real terms than IDA-VI and hence will warrant a rather delicate and difficult redistribution of the pie to accommodate new demands. This is indeed the barest minimum package, as also has been high-lighted by the management, as for burden sharing there can be change in only one direction and that is enhancement. IDA assistance

is directed at the least-demanding human beings and to them it means less starvation, less disease, less malnutrition, less illiteracy and in one word less human indignity. The IDA replenishment is indeed crucial to human existence.

The importance of the Bank's intermediation in capital transfer has been further underscored by recent developments. The recycling process undertaken by commercial banks in the mid-1970s has proved to be too fragile and is responsible in no small measure for the present threat to the international monetary system. It needs the support of multilateral agencies in a strengthened manner, with hindsight it can be rightly questioned if some of the middle income countries were not pushed too early to the money markets. In such a situation the Bank's capacity to lend should be increased. Last year bank lending grew by only 8 per cent hardly keeping pace with the inflation rate, and net disbursements recorded only a 3 per cent increase.

We note with concern the following developments:

--The Bank's present lending programme does not enable it to play any significant role in resource transfer. This year only 20 per cent of gross disbursement meant net transfer. In 1987 net transfer will be only 900 million dollars against a gross disbursement of 16.4 billion dollars.

--The Bank's present lending programme does not permit sufficient lending for energy. It is already over 20 per cent and it comes to a paltry 3 billion dollars per annum against an investment need of 130 billion dollars.

--Programme and structural adjustment lending cannot be increased much under the existing global ceiling of 10 per cent of total lending. The new move toward too close a collaboration with the Fund in terms of emulating conditionality does not appear to be a healthy development.

--Cofinancing does not appear to have become too dynamic a source. In 1981 the level actually declined. However new initiatives taken recently may help somewhat.

These considerations make a very strong case for increased Bank lending. We strongly support the management proposal for 6.2 per cent real increase a year which means a five-year programme of 60.5 billion dollars in place of 56.5 billion dollars.

This expansion will call for a capital increase at the earliest possible opportunity. An opportunity for selective capital increase has been provided by the principle of parallelism with the Fund's quota increase. A 20 billion dollars selective capital increase is warranted by the recent review of Fund quotas. An agreement for a selective capital increase of about 12 billion dollars will be sufficient for the time being. The question of a general capital increase will have to be decided upon in 1986.

We have consistently been asking for expansion in programme lending larger coverage of project cost and higher levels of local cost financing. We are

pleased to note that the special action programme has been initiated based largely on the arguments we have been advancing for making external assistance more useful. For low-income countries the importance of fast disbursement and greater support to development outlay cannot be over-emphasised. I believe it is time to consider withdrawal of the global limit of 10 per cent for programme lending. An interesting suggestion has been made by the Commonwealth experts on combining structural adjustment lending with use of the extended Fund facility and generally enlarging programme lending on soft terms. This suggestion richly commends itself and should be considered in the context of a similar recommendation made earlier by the Brandt Commission.

We believe that the public sector has a very important and crucial role in countries like ours where infrastructure is so underdeveloped and poverty is so endemic. But we also acknowledge that individual initiative and enterprise must be allowed to blossom fully so as to participate in the onerous task of economic development we recognise with renewed interest the catalytic role that IFC plays in resource transfer. In fact we are looking forward to early fruition of some IFC initiatives in our country. We are convinced of the need for IFC's capital increase by 750 million dollars and strongly support it.

Inadequacy of Fund resources despite the agreed quota increase of 47.5 per cent remains a matter of grave concern. As of end-August, 42 countries had either stand-by or extended Fund facility arrangements for SDR 24.2 billion, and we are aware of larger demands on Fund resources. A gap of SDR 6 billion is projected in borrowed resources for the end of 1983. This underscores the need for the following:

- (A) The quota increase should be made effective immediately.
- (B) The enlarged General Arrangements to Borrow should be activated simultaneously, and
- (C) The generous offer of a Saudi Arabian loan should be used with a matching contribution from industrial countries.

The preservation of the international monetary system is at stake and the Fund did an admirable job in this respect last year. But the situation remains volatile and the confidence in the world financial system should be no means be impaired.

The quota increase has really meant a decline in the overall share of non-oil developing countries by 1.5 per cent. In this context as well as in the context of a continuing liquidity shortage, it looks strange that there should be a move to reduce access levels at all. The proposal is tantamount to taking away with one hand what is being given with the other. Thus, reduction in enlarged access will nullify the quota increase. Lack of Fund resources should not be a reason for reduction of enlarged access. The remedy really lies in advancement of the ninth general review of quota.

Lack of flexibility, neglect of external changes, and insensitivity to social and political conditions are often associated with Fund programmes. It is a matter of concern that in the last 18 months the number of high conditionality programmes has increased. For the Fund to continue as a dynamic institution, relaxation of conditionality is as important as its capacity for surveillance of national economic policies. It has been suggested by the Commonwealth group of experts that the compensatory financing facility be de-linked both from conditionality and from access on the basis of quotas. These winds of change must be recognised.

It seems to us that a number of practices now being followed may have unintended adverse effects. I have in mind front-loading of adjustment measures in various Fund programmes. Equally disturbing is the suggestions to reduce fund assistance to countries with a weak balance of payments position. These measures frustrate the very purpose of Fund programmes and may harm the image of the fund as well. It is indeed counter-productive to think of high conditionality at a time when the process of recovery is so unsteady.

Last but not, there is the question of SDR allocations. The need for additional unconditional liquidity in the face of declining reserves has been established by almost all Technical analyses. For the first time in a quarter of a century non-gold reserves declined for two years in succession. It is also acknowledged that SDRs have to be strengthened as the counterpiece of reserve assets. The argument about the inflationary impact of SDR allocations is no longer valid. It is unfrotunate that no agreement could yet be reached on the allocation of SDRs for the fourth basic period. There is a great deal of truth in what the Managing Director of the Fund said some time ago that the crisis is not one of debt but essentially of liquidity problems. There is no doubt that all requirements for an SDR allocation have been met at this point in time and the situation demands a substantial allocation. We are strongly of the view that such an allocation will greatly help the process of recovery.

Both the President of the World Bank and the Managing Director of the Fund have asked for growth with stability. They have called for close coordination of economic policies by nations emphasising international cooperation.

--are afraid of protectionism and the uncertainty of capital movements.

--We are worried about stagnation of output and under-utilisation of capacity.

We notice that the payments disequilibrium is turning out to be essentially a long of medium term phenomenon.

--We find that coordination of global policies on money finance and trade leaves much to be desired.

--We observe that surveillance of national economic policies and their harmonisation are extremely tenuous.

This only reiterates the fact that many of the assumptions of the Bretton Woods system are no longer valid. To meet the challenges to the world trading

and financial system a new course should now be charted and the Commonwealth Secretariat has provided a valuable experts' report to help us in this endeavour. "Towards A New Bretton Woods" as the report is entitled calls for three sets of action.

--There are some immediate measures which existing institutions can implement under the existing rules of the game.

--A second set of measures demands technical preparatory work perhaps in some existing coordinating forums.

--And finally there is the need for a new orientation and a renewed political will.

Perhaps we should start thinking about initiating a process, the culmination of which will be a new Bretton Woods. New ways and a new philosophy have to be found to contain the "highly communicable economic maladies" that are threatening to jeopardise the "soundly expanding world economy." We need what John Maynard Keynes so earnestly wished--institutions "belonging to the whole world, owing allegiance to the general good without fear or favour to any particular interest." This I reckon is the choice of destiny that we must make in our continuing courageous quest for soundly expanding world economy.

CSO: 4600/1127

TEXT OF ELECTION COMMISSIONER'S 7 OCTOBER SPEECH

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 8 Oct 83 p 6

[Text] Following is the full text of address to the nation by Mr Justice A.K.M. Nurul Islam Chief Election Commissioner broadcast telecast on Friday.

Assalamo Alaikum.

Elections are of immense importance in the life of a nation. It is through the elections that the hopes and aspirations of the people become vividly perceptible and their lines of thinking unmistakably discernible. This is why the advanced countries make all pervasive use of elections as a means of establishing the rights of the people through correctly understanding their thoughts and ideas. In our country, too, the tradition has already emerged of holding elections at various levels on the basis of adult franchise for reading the public mind.

In order to make the elections truly representative and meaningful as far as possible a new voter list has recently been prepared and published. According to the new list the total number of voters in the country is 4,73 25.886 compared to 3,83 63.858 according to the 1976 list. That means in about last seven years the country has added 89,62 038 voters to its total.

You are well aware that general elections to local bodies are going to be held from the end of the current year phase-wise. For the Union Parishad and Paurashayas this is going to be the third election, and first ever for the Dhaka and Chittagong Paura Corporations. The first general election to the Union Parishads and Paurashavas was held in 1973-74 and the Second in 1976-77. However, in the latest process of decentralisation of administration general election to the offices of the Chairman of the Upa-Zilla Parishads is going to be held for the first time in the history of the whole region.

The Union Parishad elections are scheduled to be held from the 27th of December 1983. Elections to the Paurashavas and Paura Corporations will be held on the 11th of February, 1984 while the general election, to the offices of the Chairmen of the Upa Zilla Parishads will be held on the 24th of March 1984. This is the first ever initiative in the history of our elections for holding three general elections within such a short span of time. It naturally entails a heavy responsibility on the Election Commission. Nevertheless,



relying on the long experience and high capabilities of all those working with the Election Commission, I can tell you with self confidence that Inshah-Allah We will be able to discharge our responsibilities within the announced time schedule fairly well. In the past too, the Election Commission had to shoulder the responsibilities of holding bigger general elections within rather short time. And with the conscious dutifulness active dispositions and earnest cooperation of all concerned, we were able to perform our duty with complete success. Accordingly I trust that it will be surely possible to hold the coming elections neatly with spontaneous cooperation of all our countrymen.

The Election Commission has already completed the preparatory preliminaries. You are perhaps aware that the gigantic task of holding general elections is as sensitive and time-consuming as it is multifarious and cost intensive. For success fully conducting the general elections it is also absolutely necessary for everybody to remain extremely careful, alert and vigilant at every stage. In this country-wide national exercise huge manpower is required to be engaged. Beside the supervision of the innumerable personnel it is also imperative to coordinate between sound planning and efficient management of various matters related to procurement and supply of election materials setting up of polling centres and sundry other heads of diverse activities. Every vote is equally valuable. Therefore it is absolutely necessary to make all possible arrangements so that everybody gets the full facilities for exerting his rights of vote and casting his vote in proper manner. Arranging for training of the election personnel by way of making them knowledgeable about election laws rules principles and procedures, particularly well-versed about the proceedings of the all important election day for instance taking the polls, counting the votes and announcing the election results etc is among the vital responsibilities of the Election Commission. It is very necessary to make the people fully aware of the rules and procedures pertaining to various stages of holding the elections and also explain to them clearly the procedures peculiar to the method of casting votes in various elections, so that the vote cast does not become invalid only because of procedural error. It is therefore imperative to draw up an effective publicity work plan covering all these aspects. In this regard the Election Commission has already chalked out a publicity programme. I hope that as in the past, the entire gamut of mass communication media in the country will extend all possible cooperation to the Election Commission in the implementation of its publicity programme concerning the ensuing general elections.

Dear Countrymen, now I would like to draw your attention to the correct voting procedures in the Union Parishad and Paurashava elections. Compared to other elections, these two elections have some differences in the procedure of casting votes. The voters of each Union will elect one Chairman for their Union Parishad. Beside the Chairman Nine Members will also be elected for each Union Parishad. For the purposes of Union Parishad election each Union is divided into three wards. From each ward, three members will be elected. It will therefore, be seen that in the Union Parishad election one voter will cast one vote for electing the Chairman and three votes for electing the three Members. For the election of the Chairman and the Members each voter will be given two ballot papers of two different colours. Each ballot paper will



contain the personal election symbols of the candidates. The voter is required to mark the ballot paper meant for the Chairman with one impression of the rubber seal and with three impressions in the ballot paper meant for the Members secretly in the voting compartment.

Votes will have to be cast in the same procedure also in the Paurashava elections. Only in the Paura Corporation elections of Dhaka and Chittagong the voters will elect one Commissioner from their wards concerned. In other words the voters in this case will receive only one ballot paper and he will be required to put only one impression of the rubber seal thereon. But it may be mentioned here incidentally that the Chairmen of the Upa Zilla Parishads will be elected by the voters directly.

The Election Commission has already fixed up the time schedule for the general elections to the Union Parishads, Paurahavas and Paura Corporations. Now, I will announce the time-schedule for these elections. The time-schedule for the general elections to the office of the Chairman Upa Zilla Parishad will be announced later in due course of time.

For the Union Parishad elections the nomination papers will be received on Monday the 14th November, 1983. The scrutiny of the nomination papers will take place on Tuesday, the 15th November. The last date for withdrawal of candidature will be Sunday the 20th of November and the polling will be held from the 27th December 1983 up to the 10th January 1984.

For the general elections to all the Paurashavas in the country along with the two Paura Corporations of Dhaka and Chittagong, the nomination papers will be received on Monday, the 19th December, 1983: the scrutiny of the nomination papers will take place on Tuesday the 20th of December and the last date for withdrawal of candidature will be Sunday the 25th of December. The polling will be held on Saturday the 11th February 1984.

Although the Election Commission is taking all possible steps in order to conduct these elections neatly and fairly I would like to impress upon you that for making the conduct of general elections an all-round success, overall cooperation of all our countrymen will remain indispensable.

The Election Commission is firmly resolved to see the conduct of the elections free and fair. I hope that all the conscious citizens of the country will play their due role in redeeming this solemn pledge of ours as they have always done in the past.

Finally I wish all success to the coming elections which are stupendous national exercises of grave responsibility. May Allah the All merciful, help us in discharge of such great responsibilities.

Khoda Hafiz  
Bangladesh Zindabad.

AWAMI LEAGUE OFFICIAL ANNOUNCES SUPPORT FOR RAZZAK

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 5 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Col (Retd) Shawkat Ali a member of the Working Committee of Bangladesh Awami League (Hasina) on Tuesday urged party chief Sheikh Hasina Wazed to "come out of the clutches of anti-BKSALite forces inside the party and join the mainstream of Sheikh Mujibar Rahman's line of socialism."

Announcing his support for the Awami League faction led by Mr Abdur Razzak at a Press conference at Jatiya Press Club Col (Retd) Shawkat said that anti-BKSAL forces had utilised the "lack of political experience of Sheikh Hasina to divide the party"

He also said that after his recent release from jail he tried to unify the party "I held talks with leaders of both the factions including Sheikh Hasina and Abdur Razzak. But I am constrained to announce that my sincere efforts had failed due to intransigent attitude of Sheikh Hasina Wazed and her non-political ideas" Col Shawkat said.

Col (Retd) Shawkat Ali who as he President of Muktiyoddha Sanghati Parishad on AL ([word indistinct] front organisation said that while he was in prison he felt sad about the recent split in Awama League. Since he was nominated as member of the Working Committee in [date indistinct] he came across two opposing currents in the organisation. The mainstream was he said striding ahead to establish Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's ideal of socialism on the basis of BKSAL programme and the other was opposing it followed by voteries of free capitalist economy. They were in fact guided and controlled by the US imperialism" he claimed.

Col. (Retd.) Shawkat Ali further said that he was joining the socialists in Awami League led by Mr. Abdul Malek Ukil and Mr. Abdur Razzak and devote himself to achieve socialism as enunciated by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

When asked that the faction led by Sheikh Hasina Wazed had never disowned the BKSAL concept he said that publicly no one could oppose it because it would mean disowning Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Replying to another question Col. (Retd.) Shawkat Ali said that "henchmen of Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed were still hiding inside Awami League (Hasina)". He would not "identify anyone as killer of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman except Khandaker Moshtaque". Awami League General Secretary Mr. Abdur Razzak was present at the Press conference for some time. It was also attended by Mr. Syed Ahmed Office Secretary of the party.

RESIGNED OFFICIAL RETURNS TO AWAMI LEAGUE

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 8 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Mohammed Hanif has come back to his party.

Mr Hanif who earlier submitted his resignation as president of city Awami League Hasina) appeared at the residence of Bangabandhu Sheikh Majibur Rahman, at Dhanmondi while Awami League chief Sheikh Hasina Wazed was having a meeting with the workers of Dhanmodi, Mirpur, Mohammadpur, Rayer Bazar, and Harirampur Union Awami League there yesterday evening.

Almost immediately he was followed by AL leaders Dr Kamal Hossain, Mr Abdus Samad Azad, Mr Zillur Rahman and Mr. Omor Ali of city Awami League the workers present at the meeting insisted Mr Hanif to withdraw his resignation and drew the attention Sheikh Hasina on the matter. Sheikh Hasina than said that his (Hanif) resignation was not accepted.

On further insistance Mr Hanif began to Mpeak and said that he had resigend from the post of president of city awami League not from Awami League. He had been working for AL and would continue to do that He said he had to resign on the ground of internal confict of the party.

At one stage Mr Hanif's resignation letter was torn out. Attending workers of the meeting stressed the importance of keeping unity of Awami League and urged Mr Hanif to work for bringing unity of the party.

In reply mr Hanif said that he would do his best for bringing unity of the party.

CSO: 4600/1131

AWAMI LEAGUE-HASINA MEETS, RESOLUTIONS REPORTED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 11 Oct 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Bangladesh Awami League (H) on Monday called for withdrawing all restrictions on open political activities by October 31, reports ENA.

In a series of resolutions adopted at the two-day meetings of its working committee which concluded in Dhaka on Monday the party also reiterated its demand for holding election to parliament by March, 1984.

The meeting held with party president Sheikh Hasina in the chair refuted the argument that election to the office of President before parliamentary poll was a constitutional requirement. It said there is no provision in the suspended constitution which lays down that election to the office of President must be held before parliamentary polls.

The meeting also refuted the charge that the Awami League had no right to oppose the Presidential system of the Government because the Government party which supported the Presidential system had won the elections in 1978 and 1981. It said that the frustrating consequences of the two elections of 1978 and 1981 are well-known to the people. Therefore, it said, attempts should not be made to introduce Presidential system of Government again in the country.

The meeting emphasised that elections to local bodies could not be any substitute for elections to parliament and maintained that a sovereign parliament alone could solve the critical issues that now confronted the nation.

It also called upon the people to lend support to the 'demonstration day' to be held on November 1 at the call of the 15-party alliance.

CSO: 4600/1137

# AWAMI LEAGUE-HASINA EXPELS FIVE LEADERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 12 Oct 83 pp 1, 12

[Text]

Bangladesh Awami League (Hasina) on Tuesday night formalised the breakup of the party with the announcement of expulsion of five central leaders, reports ENA.

The leaders are Presidium member Mr. Mohiuddin Ahmed Abdul Momin Talukder, General Secretary Mr. Abdur Razak, Office Secretary Syed Ahmed and Cultural Secretary Mr. A.S.M. Yusuf. A Press release of the party issued in Dhaka on Tuesday night.

The charges against Mr. Abdul Malek Ukil were withdrawn after a meeting between Sheikh Hasina Wazed and Abdul Malek Ukil on Tuesday evening.

Commenting on the decision, Mr. Mohiuddin said it was an unconstitutional act imposed by undemocratic element of the party. He accused party President Sheikh Hasina of resorting to undemocratic and unconstitutional means and held her responsible for the breakup of the party.

Mr. Mohiuddin Ahmed said the decision of expulsion has little significance to democratic minded member of the party who are majority and "with us".

He also said if Malek Ukil wants to take to "politics of expediency and opportunism the members of the Awami League will take it easy without attaching any significance".

The decision of expulsion was taken on Monday night but its announcement remained pending because party sources said Sheikh Hasina wanted to have a last minute dialogue with Malek Ukil to resolve the differences.

Three-page Press release said that the five central leaders who were asked to show cause earlier had been relieved of all responsibilities including their primary membership of the party.

Those leaders had also failed to give any satisfactory reply to the party leadership as to why the charges would not be taken against them. Rather the Press release said those leaders continued activities which were contrary to the ideology of the party with the aim of undermining the image of the leadership on the organisation.

It said the charges against Mr. Ukil were withdrawn as it said he (Mr. Ukil) had given satisfactory replies to the party leadership at "discussions at various level".

Our staff Correspondent adds. The meeting did not consider the request of an influential member of the party Presidium to take a lenient view of the expulsion of Mr. Imtiazuddin Ahmed alias Entazuddin a member of party's National Committee. A party lobby was favouring withdrawal of the expulsion decision. The meeting also did not summon Mr. S.M. Babar Ali, a leader of the party's Khulna Unit to explain his conduct.

It may be mentioned that Mr. Entazuddin was expelled on charges of trying to obtain signature to a statement from party chief Sheikh Hasina in the month of February when she was under detention. The Working Committee in its meeting on September 11 expelled him and decided to sum-

mon Mr. Babar Ali. Moreover some of the influential members of the Working Committee including two members of the Presidium did not attend the three-day Working Committee meeting. The absentee members are Syeda Zohara Tajuddin, Mr. Abdul Momen Quazi, Zahirul Qayyum, Major Gen. (Retd) Khalilur Rahman, Mr. M A Jafar of Rajshahi. Their absence in the meeting is significant and political observers view that absence members did not want to participate in the decision to expel six leaders of the Razzak faction of the party to avoid charges of splitting the Awami League (Hasina).

BSS adds: Mr. S. M. Babar Ali, General Secretary of Khulna District Awami League (Hasina), has resigned from the post in protest against 'unilateral action' by the party against a Central Committee member Mr. Entazuddin Ahmed.

A former M.P., Mr. Ali in his resignation letter to party Chairman, alleged that Mr. Entazuddin Ahmed had been expelled from the party in violation of the party constitution and without giving him any opportunity for self-defence. Such decision had lowered the image of Awami League, he said and demanded withdrawal of the expulsion order from Mr. Ahmed.

The resignation letter signed by Mr. Babar Ali himself was released to Press on Tuesday.

DHAKA URGES INDIA TO EXPEDITE TIN BIGHA TRANSFER

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 5 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Bangladesh government is learnt to have sent a note to the Indian government asking the latter to expedite the transfer of the Tin Bigha corridor.

The Bangladesh note was sent immediately after the dismissal of a case challenging the lease-in-perpetuity of Tin Bigha by the Calcutta High Court recently.

The case which remained pending for long at the Calcutta High Court, was filed by an Indian national soon after the 1974 Land Boundary Agreement under which Tin Bigha was to be leased out to Bangladesh for exercising her sovereignty over the two enclaves Dahagram and Angorpota.

The Bangladesh government though is learnt to have received a reply which, in fact, carried nothing in concrete terms in the content for transferring Tin Bigha. The Bangladesh side is expecting a concrete reply from the Indian side soon in this regard.

It may be recalled here that Bangladesh and India signed the lease agreement a year ago during the first official visit of CMLA General Ershad to Delhi after about a decade of signing the Indo-Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement.

Indian Foreign Minister P. V. Narshima Rao during his last visit to Dhaka could not say specifically about the handing over the corridor because of the "pending case" at the Calcutta High Court. Mr. Rao was learnt to have assured of a 'quick disposal' as soon as the pending case is disposed of.

The Indian government is yet to ratify the 1974-Land Boundary Agreement signed by late Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi during the former's official visit to Delhi. The agreement was, however, ratified by the Bangladesh Parliament to give it an immediate effect.

Meanwhile, over ten thousand people living in the two enclaves have been cut off from the mainland for long because of non-availability of corridor facilities.

According to reports pouring in from the two enclaves Dahagram and Angorpota situated at the Northern-most tip of Rangpur district, the people living there have been subjected to continuous harassment by both Indian nationals and their law enforcing agencies. The district administration also could not provide any help even at the time of any crisis or emergency due to lack of corridor.

Knowledgeable sources, however, are of the opinion that the Tin Bigha corridor formed with 16 privately owned plots could easily be acquired by the Indian central government under the existing Land Acquisition Act for its early transfer to Bangladesh.

The Indian government was learnt to have marked the plots after signing the lease agreement but kept off its hands in the face of so-called 'stiff opposition' from some political forces including Congress (I) in West Bengal.

CSO: 4600/1130



SHAKEUP IN PROGOSH GONOTANTRIK LEADERSHIP REPORTED

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 8 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] The pro-Shahriar faction of the Progotishil Gonotantrik Shakti (Progosh) yesterday expelled the party's President Ali Amjad Khan and Senior Vice President Dalilur Rahman.

The action against them came within 24 hours of expelling its General Secretary Sirajul Huq Gora and accepting the resignation letter of its Advisory Council member Lt. Col (retd) Shahriar by the faction of Ali Amjad Khan.

The opening session of 3-day general meeting of the party's executive committee that began yesterday at its central office at 34 Free School Street deliberated over organisational issues of the party and prevailing political situation.

Presided over by Senior Vice President Altaf Uddin Talukdar the meeting was attended by 151 out of 212 members of the Progosh Executive Committee as claimed by its General Secretary Sirajul Huq Gora.

Senior Vice President Altaf Uddin Talukdar will function as acting President of the organisation until a new president is elected while Advisory Council member Shahriar Mohammad Rashid has become Senior Vice President in place of Dalilur Rahman.

At the initial stage of the meeting Shahriar withdrew his resignation from the position of Advisory Council member submitted earlier for consideration of the Executive Committee.

The party, it is learnt, will serve show cause notices on 10 other central leaders including wife of Ali Amjad Khan who is Organising Secretary of the party on the charge of anti-party activities.

CSO: 4600/1131

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES BY ANTICORRUPTION BUREAU

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 8 Oct 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] The Bureau of Anti-Corruption (BAC) has processed since 197y over 9,900 cases and disposed of over 3,700 cases till June 1983. The maximum number of disposal of cases was in 1982 following certain amendment of Criminal Procedure Code (CPC).

The BAC cases were instituted against over one and a half dozen of political leaders who held responsible political offices, senior government officials, corporation employees including Managing Directors of some financial institutions.

The BAC processed over 5,700 cases involving over Tk. 39 crore between 1976 and 1980. But the financial involvement of the cases between 1981 and 1982 would be still bigger though the compiled figure was not available.

The Bureau of Anti-Corruption has recently been reorganised with a view to making it more effective. The strength of BAC official which was about 150 in 1981, has been raised to about 250 in 1983.

The BAC processed and instituted 886 cases in 1976 of which about 60 per cent cases were disposed of during the same period. The number of cases increased to 965 in 1977 while it rose to 1046 in 1978. The number of corruption cases increased to 1425 in 1980 as against 1384 in 1979. The number of cases instituted in 1981 was 1321 of which 894 were disposed of.

A total of 2056 cases were disposed of in 1982 as many old cases were lying for disposal with BAC. The number of cases processed during the year was 1230.

The financial involvement of the cases was Tk. 3.5 crore in 1978 Tk. 2.5 crore in 1977, Tk. 7.66 crore in 1978, Tk. 8.05 crore in 1979 and approximately Tk. 17 crore in 1980.

There are corruption cases since liberation against a large number of bank employees involving an amount of about Tk. 40 crore till September, 1981. The persons who have been charge sheeted are in most cases placed under suspension. The judgement of the cases are however, delayed "due to knotty and

complicated nature of the cases." As many as 4000 cases filed by BAC were awaiting judges courts. The number of such cases was about 1800 in Dhaka court.

All cases against public servants conducted by BAC required to be processed at different levels "leaving little or no scope of manipulation" according to a BAC source. The BAC also submits charges in writing providing opportunity for written explanation in self-defence, the source said.

BAC has one Assistant Inspector for each subdivision. There are also 35 anti-corruption officers and 70 inspectors to handle the field work of increasing number of corruption cases.

The method and nature of corruption has changed with the liberation of Bangladesh. Corruption has now become syndicated in most cases. The investigation of cases has also become difficult as in most cases the high officials are found to have connived in them, said a BAC source.

If a high official is involved evidences are either destroyed or employees of lower status are implicated, lamented a BAC official. The BAC officials have to reconstitute evidences in many cases.

CSO: 4600/1145

PLANNING COMMISSION RELEASES DRAFT TEXT

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 7-12 Oct 83

[7 Oct 83 p 3]

[Text] Following is the text of the thoughts about perspective plan released by the Planning Commission yesterday, reports BSS.

Development is a continuous process and development planning needs long-term perspective. But it was not until the time the work on the Second Five-Year Plan was initiated that the Planning Commission began to give serious thoughts to a long-term perspective plan. The second plan was indeed conceived as an integral part of a perspective plan so in September 1979 the Planning Commission issued the "preliminary thoughts on a perspective plan of Bangladesh 1980-2000". It envisioned a society by the turn of this century which would be free from hunger, self-reliant and egalitarian, sharing austerity and sacrifice. Since our natural bounties—land water and manpower are located in rural areas, foundation of a just, self-reliant society must be laid there. The "perspective plan" thus emphasized a rural development strategy for accelerated production of goods to meet basic human needs, rapid expansion of employment, mass participation in development process and improved distribution of income and assets in the rural areas. The plan recognized the importance of dedicated leadership and political commitment to an austere development process, establishment of self-governing democratic institutions at local levels and improvement of development administration. As it envisioned a just and self-reliant society through democratic system universal literacy and a political process dominated by the common man committed to his welfare were considered to be the fundamental conditions for the success of planned development.

The socio-economic perspectives for 1980 to 2000 A.D. were defined as (i) Provision of basic needs such as staple food, coarse cloth, minimum housing with sanitation and elementary health care (ii) Literacy for every person above the age of 5, (iii) Sustain economic growth at 7 per cent per annum as a steady reduction and ultimate elimination of poverty (iv) Employment for all by 2000 A.D. (v) control of population to 100 million by the end of the century and (vi) Rapid industrial growth based mainly on domestic market, to bring about the desired structural changes in the economy.

The perspective plan clearly spelled out the socio-economic implications of the society it envisioned. Within the overall framework of austerity and sacrifice it realized the necessity for elimination of corruption, opportunity for accumulation of unearned income and inequitable distribution of land mobilization of larger amount of domestic resources and reduction of dependence on foreign aid. It envisaged some broad dimension of macro rising to 16 per economic parameters as follows: The share of external assistance declining to 6 per cent of GDP. Saving to 16 per cent of GDP, Saving cent of GDP so as to allow investment to reach 22 per cent of GDP. Correspondingly, tax GDP ratio was to rise to 15 per cent and export to finance 70 per cent import needs.

The "preliminary thoughts" were issued to elicit a consensus on broad socio-economic objectives policies and strategies as a preview of a formal perspective plan. But the changes in the world economic condition and their effect on the domestic economy particularly the experience of the second plan with international trade and aid and balance of payment problem, economic growth, etc call for a more critical examination of the macro-economic parameters of a perspective plan and its socio-economic goals.

Problems and prospects of Bangladesh continues to be set with massive socio-economic problems. Poverty, hunger unemployment illiteracy and population pressure are so pervasive that Bangladesh in a syndrome of poverty. Even on the basis of minimum calorie intake around 85 per cent of people live below the povertyline, unemployment is about one-third of the labour force, three-quarters of population are illiterate and the population pressure on limited land is growing so fast that landlessness has engulfed about half of the rural households. If population growth continues at its present annual rate of 2.6 per cent by the turn of the century Bangladesh will have eight times as much population per thousand sq. kilometer of area as Hong Kong has now. If the present trends continue through the end of this century, socio-economic maladies of Bangladesh will assume colossal magnitude. Even at current levels all these problems are not only massive, but also extremely complex as such they pose very tough choice for a poor country like Bangladesh, toiling under severe resource and balance of payments constraints. All the problems can be basically reduced to a dichotomy of growth and population control, but each one of them would individual need attention in order to arrest absolute deterioration in other words, all the symptoms and causes of the syndrome of poverty need to be attacked simultaneously. The main focus of planned development should, however, necessarily be on poverty as all other problems directly and indirectly depend on or are accentuated by poverty.

Poverty is conditioned by growth and equity or production and distribution as to the relation between these two aspects of poverty the international experience of the last two decades of development reveals that the share of low income groups generally tends to decline in the early stage of economic growth although average per capita income is growing and rise as per capita income reaches the threshold level (700 dollar). It therefore follows that generally countries having higher growth have also improved income distribution. If population continues to grow at its present rate (2.6 per cent), to reach the threshold level of income by 2000 A.D. would require GDP to grow at the annual

rate of 11.5 per cent during the rest of the century. Alternatively, if GDP grows at the rate (4.3 per cent) as a realised since 1975-76 this level of income cannot be reached until the end of next 100 years. Therefore focusing in poverty the development plan will have to consciously address the problem of income distribution simultaneously with acceleration of GDP growth. It also needs to be emphasized in connection with poverty that under constraint of resources population growth affects growth of GDP and income distribution. Therefore planned development has to concomitantly strive to reduce population growth.

Because of the imperatives of the socio-economic problem the first two plans sought to render all of them and simultaneously objectives for growth. Income distribution employment, population control, self-reliance and food self-sufficiency. Some success have been achieved in raising average per capita income reducing population growth and improving the rate of literacy, but unemployment problems and distribution of incomes further deteriorated as both planned level of investment and GDP growth remained substantially unsatisfied.

[8 Oct 83 p 3]

[Text] Following is the second part of the text of thoughts about perspective plan released by the Planning Commission on Wednesday.

Important macro dimensions of socio-economic problems posed by past and present development plans are given in table-I. The table clearly shows that except some marginal improvement in per capita GDP food output and primary education planned expectations largely remained unfulfilled. The causes are not far to seek. The main problem was, however, with the availability of resources. If the volume of development outlay is corrected for inflation the real investment during the first plan was 59 per cent of the target. The percentage of realization for the type improved significantly due to availability of higher level of foreign aid, while domestic resource fell far short of target partly due to slow growth of the economy and partly due to lack of sufficient drive for domestic resource mobilization as is reflected in the stagnation of tax--GDP ratio, scarcity of resource has also been the cause for downward revision of the current plan (SFYP). The experience of planned development of last three years would require future plans to be realistic and face up to the serious resource constraint that has hitherto vitiated all plans. The inexorable law of reality would require planners as well as decision makers to deconcile their expectations even though hope builds up faster than it is frustrated.

TABLE-I  
(MACRO INDICATORS OF SUCCESSIVE PLAN)

	First Five-Year Plan (1973-78)		Two-year-plan (1978-80)		Second Five-Year plan (1980-85)		Revised Target	Result 1980-83
	Actual 1972-73	Target actual	Target	Actual	Original Target	Revised Target		
1. GDP growth rates (per cent per annum)	—	5.5	4.0	5.6	3.5	7.2	5.4	3.6
2. Population growth (per cent per annum)	3.0	2.8	2.6	2.8	2.6	2.3	2.4	2.5
3. Per capita GDP (Tk.) (Terminal year)	676	766	727	752	747	942	865	770
4. Food production (million tons on terminal year)	11.14	15.10	13.10	14.40	13.35	20.03	17.5	15.1
5. New employment million in terminal year)	—	4.10	3.00	1.80	N.A.	5.18	3.65	N.A.
6. Primary education (million in terminal year.)	6.00	8.59	8.53	9.00	7.00	13.00	13.00	N.A.
7. Development outlay (Tk in mill for the plan)	—	44,850	50,470	38,610	49,040	255,950	172,000	—
8. Self reliance: share of foreign aid (over the plan)	—	40.4	76.0	74.0	81.1	46.3	41.2	—
9. Domestic saving (terminal year)	4.5	14.2	4.6	5.7	4.3	7.2	7.6	—
10. Tax-GDP ratio: (terminal year.)	4.8	10.0	8.0	9.2	8.0	13.0	9.5	8.1

Target development outlay is at constant prices and actual at current prices.



[Text] Because of past failures to redress them two socio-economic problems need to be specially highlighted here. First, though per capita income improved somewhat over the last ten-year's distribution of income suffered in 1968--69 lowest 20 per cent of households owned 10.4 per cent of income, their share declined to 7.2 percent in 1973-74, in 1976-77 it declined further to 5.7 per cent in 1973-74, further to 0.44 in 1976-77. The position of poor households grew even worse in terms of calorie intake in both rural and urban areas. There was absolute decline in per capita consumption of food by the lower decile (10 per cent) of households from 14.0 oz. A day to 11.6 oz. between 1963-64 and 1973-74 while that of the top decile rose from 10.30 oz. to 17.2 oz. over the same period, of course, it should be recalled that 1973-74 was very poor year in terms of availability of calorie intake declined from 2301 k.cl. in 1962-64 to 2094 k.cl. in 1975-76. This decline was wholly at the cost of poor households. The calorie intake of the bottom decile in 1976-77 was 913 k.cl. against 2986 k.cl. in the top decile and a national average of 1650 k.cl.

Secondly, unemployment situation has significantly deteriorated over the same period. Both the first five-year plan and the two-year plan failed to reach their employment targets. First plan envisaged to create 4.1 million full time jobs. But because of shortfall in investment employment rose by 3.0 million leaving only the rest to swell the reserve army of unemployed. Increased pressure of landless population in rural areas is reflected in the food for works programme the volume of which has risen from 116 thousand tons of food in 1975-76 to 295 thousand tons in 1977-78 and to 440 thousand tons in 1979-80. This increase despite the elements of waste and leakage associated with rapid expansion of programme, reflects the severity of rural unemployment problem.

Employment and income distribution thus remain the two major areas to warrant robust efforts to arrest any further deterioration. They are mutually dependent as employment only can generate income for the poor, in absence of well-defined policies to improve employment and income distribution the prospect of growth and production will be limited as they only can sustain an expanding economy through effective demand. Access to employment opportunities and higher level of income is however dependent on the level of education and skill, lack of which limits the scope of absorption of poor people in an expanding modern sector. So the future plans will have to address poverty, employment, population control growth and distribution and basic education all simultaneously so that substantial, all round improvement in the life of the common man is brought about by the turn of the century. In that endeavour it is too recognise that, short of a dramatic change in international situation, significant improvement in institutional capability, and fundamental change in development strategy the process of improvement may not be fast enough to bring about substantial improvement in all the areas in one or two medium term plans. Given the past experiences and the severity of resource constraint the country has to make conscious choice of the relative emphasis to be given to each of the problems over the next and following plans.

The obvious implication of this approach is to conceive medium term plans as integral components of a long term plan or perspective plan. It is in this framework of a perspective plan that the second plan was conceived and more groundwork was done for the perspective planning, medium term plans will have to be viewed as mile-posts charting the path of progress towards the long-term goals. Hence they will require inter-temporal choices such as should all the goals have equal importance of weight over the long-term growth path or should the relative emphasis shift from one problem area to another area from one medium-term plan to another. A proportionate balance growth path will be hardly desirable, since some problems such as population and education have their own momentum to accentuate. Ignoring now few eligible couples for example, may mean not only more mouths to feed now on more hunger and poverty but also attending to the need of larger number of eligible couples in future for population control. The point to stress is that given the long-term goals there might be many feasible alternative routes to each them but only one of them will be efficient under given restraints. This efficient path will fix the relative emphasis of goals for each of the medium term plans that is, the solution of each of the problems in terms of ultimate goals may follow different rather than balanced or proportional growth path. An optimum solution will however have to satisfy two basic constraints, one is that of resource and the other of institutional capability in each of the problem areas. Any deviation from this path and any attempt to emphasise all the problems as equally important as may be done on other consideration will lead to inefficient use of resources and suboptimal choices. In this respect there is a close correspondence with private choices. As known to all, an individual facing many needs to meet has to have his preferences properly ordered, so also the nation has to order its relative emphasis on various socio-economic problems facing over the long term plan. This will require not only setting the goals for the long-term plan but also defining a minimum level of development in each area for the intermediate planning period such as the third plan so that no single state such as employment or the level of living of the poorest section of people shall deteriorate. Competing claims of various sectors must fit in the need of such a long-term framework.

[10 Oct 83 p 3]

[Text] Following is the fourth Part of the text of thoughts on perspective plan.

The long term goals are defined over the planning horizon ending with this century. This was the horizon perceived for the long term perspective plan at the time of the preparation of the second plan (1980-85). Keeping the horizon fixed the intervening period will spread over three more medium term plans—each of five years duration. The goals are defined in a broad way in terms of the major problems facing the country namely poverty unemployment population control, and illiteracy. These are identified as the fundamental problems of the country for two specific reasons. First the dimension of individual problems is so massive that given the experience of the last two decades of development and of recent years No quick solution can be found for them all at a time.

A satisfying solution of one will invariably require foregoing goals in some other areas. Secondly as mentioned already it may not be feasible or even necessary to set individual goals independent of each other. There may be technical interdependence between two more objectives direct as well as indirect. Such is the relationship between poverty and employment or between poverty and population growth. Increased productive employment will help reduce poverty. Population control will help growth through less of consumption need and more of saving and so improve poverty situation focusing on the major issues. It needs to be stressed that besides these long term goals which can be realized only in phase there will also be many intermediate goals to achieve over one or two plan periods e.g. food self sufficiency, supply of basic needs, development of energy, universal primary education, primary health care services etc. These will be the goals specific to medium term plans. In other words goals of a medium term plan should be defined in two sets one set related to long term goals and the second set freely floating over the planning horizon depending on the bounds of initial and final conditions on one hand and the evolution of the economy along its long term growth path on the other.

Keeping the need of this category in view the long term goals are discussed in short below:

Reducing of poverty. Current per capita income in Bangladesh is around 140 U.S. Dollar one of the lowest in the developing world. On the basis of income needed to support the required calorie intake 85 per cent of the population i.e. 80 million people are considered to live below the poverty line. Given the average level of income any perceptible improvement in the standard of living of such a vast mass of people living below the poverty line cannot be brought about simply by any equitable distribution. Poverty as such cannot be eliminated without growth but growth through a necessary condition for does not necessarily lead to better distribution of income in the medium-term. On the contrary as mentioned already in the early stage distribution tends to suffer with growth. Against there are two options: (a) One is to plan for accelerated growth so that the threshold income is reached fast enough and (b) Alternatively to ensure equitable growth. Several countries have followed the first path in the sixties under the second alternative equity is built in consciously in growth strategy. Since a high growth rate may not be attainable under a realistic assumption about available resources the first alternative is not considered feasible in case of Bangladesh. The viable alternative is thus to adopt an equitable growth policy i.e. to temper growth with distributive justice. With such an approach it may not be very difficult to eliminate poverty as a pervasive phenomenon. Actual consumption level currently falls short of the minimum level of calorie by 15 per cent only.

However it is not this average dietary deficiency or malnutrition itself but the size of the problem the number of people (80 million) to be covered and its distribution over the household income groups that makes the solution difficult to achieve in short terms as well as in respect of commitment of resources. Within the later limitation efforts should be made to reduce poverty overtime. In doing so the strategy should be that each plan will

focus on relatively poor household so as to move them upward in the income-scale. Such a target group approach will need to ensure access to both basic needs and employment.

**Economic growth:** Though growth cannot ensure equity it is necessary to eliminate poverty. The planned growth has also to meet the need of a growing population. Thus the required growth rate will depend on both the programme for reduction of poverty and the growth of population. The three choices, poverty reduction economic growth and population control are interrelated. If a net replacement rate of one is achieved at least by 2000 A.D. and supply of basic needs is to be ensured for all, per capita income must grow by at least 4.9 per cent a year over the long term planning horizon. Per capita income will rise from 140 U.S. dollar to 357 U.S. dollar in 2000 A.D. GNP will grow at the rate of 7 per cent per annum over the perspective plan period.

**Population growth:** The current population growth rate is around 2.6 per cent. To achieve a net replacement rate--1 by 2000 A.D. the acceptance rate of family planning devices by couples in reproductive age groups must reach 72 per cent at the end of this century. Besides its resource need, such a goal will have to overcome both institutional and behavioural constraints. Some improvements in demographic indicators are already visible showing some decline in the natural growth rate of population. Steady progress can be expected to continue for some time but it is bound to pick up with the growth of the economy, spread of education and development of the service facilities. There will be need for greater focus on the rural areas as urban-rural fertility rate appears to have widened in several years. It is stipulated that NRR-1 should be achieved in 2000 A.D. with a decline in morality and crude birth rate by 50 per cent each. It is theoretically possible to reach a level of population growth rate of 0.75 per cent by 2000 A.D. But population for 2000 A.D. is projected at 128.30 million growth rate declining from 2.4 per cent in the second plan to 1.3 per cent in the fifth plan (1995-2000).

**Elimination of illiteracy.** Only 26 per cent of the population is enumerated as literate and three-fourths of the population are illiterate. A substance economy tends to enforce subsistence knowledge and through it the tradition. In this vicious circle economic development cannot proceed at a desirable pace. The experience of those countries in the Third World which have had enjoyed development success have also had high rate of literacy. Though the reverse may not be true there is no doubt that education is not only a means to knowledge but also moulds people's attitude towards life and work. So while striving for attaining universal primary education before the end of the third plan, a substantial reduction in adult illiteracy must be achieved by the end of 2000 A.D. Along with this forward march in literacy, emphasis will be given to skills training followed by Secondary Education.

**Provision of trained teachers for Primary and Secondary Education.** Provision of trained teachers for primary and secondary levels should be sufficient to cover the system that will be there in the year 2000 A.D. Expansion in higher education will be essentially in sciences and technology and for general education quality improvement will be the target.

**Energy development:** Energy consumption is at a very low level in this country and energy consumption decides the capacity to work and hence the level of output. Increase in energy consumption has, therefore, to be a deliberate target for the economy. Presently commercial energy is only one fourth of total energy consumption. Energy sources now are sunshine winds forest products, animal waste, petroleum gas, coal and hydel power. We shall emphasis commercial consumption of sunshine and wind, regeneration and use of forest products and exploration and exploitation of gas resources and coal deposits. Dependence on imported fuels will be greatly reduced and search for hydro-carbon resources will continue. Electric power will be provided to the country-side and nuclear power generation will begin towards the end of the century.

**Intermediate goals for medium term plans:** Intermediate goals for each of the intervening medium term plans will consist of two sets: (a) Components of long-term goals for their phased achievement and (b) Goals specific to each intermediate plans.

**Important specific intermediate goals are:** Food self-sufficiency; Food sufficiency has been a major goal for planned development of Bangladesh since early sixties. It appears that the goal is now within reach given normal weather, the existing experiences with the production programme this gap can be overcome in about 2 years time. In addition to filling this gap cereal food output must also grow to meet the demand of a growing population and rising income. In addition, a comfortable level of stock must be built up to meet any food emergency that may arise from natural calamities. In view of what has been said about poverty, one important thrust of the food self-sufficiency programme should be on distribution so as to ensure food security at household level.

**Primary education:** 100 per cent coverage of children between 5 to 10 years should be one of the primary objectives of the third plan. To reach this target active involvement of local Government will be necessary in fact primary education should be made one of their primary responsibilities. There shall be emphasis on both increased enrolment and reduction of drop-out. With achievement of universal primary education emphasis on the education programme should shift increasingly on to quality of education, adult literacy and skill training.

**Energy self-sufficiency:** Substitution of imported energy by development of local energy resource is one of the main objectives of the second plan. In 1979-80 Bangladesh directly imported energy equivalent to 4.5 million tons of coals in addition indirectly through commodity import Bangladesh imported another 2.0 million tons of coal equivalent. Bangladesh net energy balance with the rest of the world was 6 million tons of coal equivalent though world energy price is high and Bangladesh has relatively abundant gas reserve to use. The second plan therefore envisages to raise the share of natural gas in commercial energy consumption from 37.4 per cent in 1979/80 to 62.4 per cent in 1984/85. The planned objective should be to reach an energy balance in the external sector through export of gas based manufactures and reduction of oil import.

Primary health services: Bangladesh has achieved significant progress in primary health care and has been successful to eliminate scourges yet a long way is to be traversed. Life expectancy is around 48 years and infant mortality is estimated to be 135 per thousand. Such health hazards have significant bearing on population for population control. For this reason mother and child health care should continue to receive high priority in primary health care. Secondly safe drinking water supply in rural areas should be the major goal for the third plan. Other programmes should include education in health and village sanitation.

[11 Oct 83 p 3]

[Text] Following is the fifth part of the text of thoughts on perspective plan.

Scenario for perspective and medium term plans given the terminal goals for 2000 A.D. their intermediate growth paths will depend on 3 things basically, namely (i) availability of resource (ii) institutional capability and (iii) the technical interdependence between the diverse goals. An optimal decision under such constraints with multiple goals over long period will require dynamic programming. In absence of which only an indication of that broad magnitude of changes can be given. This is shown below:

TABLE-2  
Scenario of long term plan  
(1980-2000 AD.)

		1979-80	1984-85	1989-90	1994-95	1999-2000
1. Population (million)	:	87.2	98.1	110.2	120.3	128.3
Growth rate (0.0)	:	2.6	2.4	2.2	1.8	1.3
2. GNP (Taka in million)						
at 1979-80 prices)	:	186,130	251,260	352,404	503,559	711,910
GNP growth rate						
(0.0)	:		6.1	7.0	7.4	7.2
Per capita income						
(Taka)	:	2134	2563	3199	4184	5547
		(183)	(165)	(206)	(270)	(348)
		US dollar	US dollar	dollar	dollar	dollar
3. Projected planned						
investment	:		172,000	284,810	421,390	588,665
			(SFYP)	(TEYP)	(FFYP)	(FFYP)
(Taka in million)						
investment rate (0/0)	:	15.9	16.3	119.3	20.9	21.5
4. Domestic saving						
rate (0/0)	:	4.3	7.4	10.3	11.8	12.3



Foreign saving (0/)) (including transfers)	:	11.5	8.9	9.0	9.1	9.2
5. Unemployment (0/0)	:	30.3	29.8	22.5	16.6	9.5
6. Literacy rate (0/0)	:	26.0	40.0	52.0	65.0	75.0
7. Food production (million tons)	:	13.35	17.5	20.7	23.8	26.6
8. Structure of GDP	:	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Share of agriculture	:	51.6	50.3	45.3	41.2	36.9
Share of industries	:	8.2	9.6	11.4	14.7	21.2
Share of other sectors	:	40.2	40.1	43.3	44.1	41.9

The scenario given in table 2 above should be viewed as a probably outcome of a continuous development process and taken as tentative until its various macro dimensions are firmed up by rigorous tests both as to their feasibility and consistency in relation to various constraints under which the economy of Bangladesh is operating or continue to operate in future. Such constraints will not only determine the long-term prospect but also the pace of development and the growth path over time. The important constraints may be classified into two sets namely, i) external and (ii) domestic ones. These are briefly discussed below:

**External constraints:** main constraints to development are (i) domestic saving lagging behind the level of investment required for bringing about a significant improvement in the life of common man, a problem generally identified as saving-investment gap and (ii) shortage of external resource to finance import need, characterized as an export-import gap problem. Both external and internal resource gaps have been accentuated in recent years due to slow down of growth, stagnation of foreign aid and decline of world trade. External conditions have been severe for maintaining the development momentum in Bangladesh. A comparison of table 2 with table 1 clearly shows that the scenario is based on the expectation of improvement in international aid and trade climate. The developed market economies are already on their way to recovery from a long spell of recession. It is expected that the observed upturn in developed economies will be sustained to ensure expansion of both international trade and aid in future.

**Domestic constraints:** external dependence as mentioned above is the result of the inability of the country to save enough to invest because of its low per capita income and to produce enough to export for financing import. Domestic resource constraints have in recent years been exacerbated by the deterioration of external conditions and have together led the economy to sacrifice not only consumption but also the need for its long-term structural change to short-term structural adjustment policies, such adjustments have however, helped consolidate the economy for accelerated growth in future as built-in on the scenario. The upturn of world economy will improve prospect for



increased external resource inflow and stimulate export to bring about a relaxation domestic constraints in order to regain development momentum. Besides resource constraints, there are also many institutional constraints which are often characteristics of a traditional society like Bangladesh. These constraints extend from political and administrative constraints to local power structure and customs which not only tend to circumvent or inhibit efficient allocation of resource through a competitive market system but also impede access of poor people to resources. Lack of discretion in the use of aid may lead to the choice of a technology which entails sacrifice or potential employment and accentuates income inequality. Though a system cannot change by itself there may be congruence of interest between the local and external interest groups to perpetuate such a system. All that is stressed, any meaningful programme for employment and poverty must of logical necessity be accompanied by various institutional reforms to allow effective participation of people in the development process. While resource constraints are likely to continue, even though relaxed strategies for development will be mainly concerned with domestic constraints to accelerate development.

[12 Oct 83 p 3]

[Text] Following is the last part of the text of thoughts on perspective plan:

Rural development strategy: since the vast majority of people live in rural areas, a poverty and employment oriented economic development has to be synonymous with rural development. Further as it is not simply feasible to plan for 90 million people through a centrally located command system, future planning strategy should be based on the principle of people participation i.e. planning for the rural people by making full use of the resources available in the rural areas through the association of rural people. It is recognized that the objectives of the long-term plan as discussed earlier cannot be achieved without bringing in a basic institutional change at the local level. Such change will have to proceed in two directions. First, for application of central government resources both financial and technical, for the need of rural people administrative authority has to be decentralized in order to bring administration close to people and make it pervious to local need. The importance of administrative decentralization was also stressed in the "preliminary thoughts on a perspective plan", this has already been recognized through the development of Upa-Zilla administration and its investiture with expanded financial power in the interest of rapid rural development, secondly, alongside decentralization of administration, it is also necessary to develop local government institutions for devolution of power to people, such devolution should, however, be structured into tiers so as to ensure coordinated development of different areas and efficient use of local and national resources. To avoid haphazard and imbalanced development, local level development programmes will require to be integrated into the national plan. Within a national plan frame and objectives we can have local development efforts and this will help implementation of development activities and may lead to somewhat regionally non-uniform growth path. Because of resource scarcity and lack of technical expertise at local level, it will also be necessary to blend local government with local administration in development activities. Strengthening of planning

and budgetary processes and personnel at local levels will be necessary. Steps in this direction has already been taken. Thirdly besides these administrative reforms, accelerated development of the economy as the scenario envisages will need the development administration to be strengthened and professionalism adequately rewarded. Fourthly, in any scheme of overall development in Bangladesh it will be necessary to properly plan land use and habitation development to gain the maximum out of the two assets-land which is in short supply and manpower which is abundantly available. Production planning and dedication of land on the one hand and development of growth centres on the other will govern rural development planning. Finally, there should be unequivocal political commitment to a plan in its totality rather than in bits and pieces.

Land reforms: Besides the need for administrative reforms, it must be recognized that a rural development strategy cannot make any head way unless land reform is effected. Land being the main resource for rural development equitable access to it must be guaranteed to those who have come to depend on agriculture for their livelihood. The importance of land reform can hardly be exaggerated in view of the fact that half of the rural households has become near landless and the number of share croppers has continued to rise. Though land is undoubtedly the most productive asset for the rural economy and requires more equitable distribution, land reform from alone cannot ensure it unless productive forces can sustain it over time. Because continued increase in population pressure on land together with the law of inheritance will continue to split land holding until the laws of returns put them back into the melting pot again. To avoid this, land reform must be supported by (A) expansion of agricultural technology to make small plots of land more productive to sustain the poor farm families and (B) opening up opportunities for productive employment in non-farm sectors. Both will require making resources available to poor families through organizing them into production groups and cooperatives. While individual land holding will decline from the current ceiling, a minimum farm size, whether belonging to individual or to cooperatives will also emerge for economic use of land.

In rural development strategy small and cottage industries will have a special role to play. Development of rural industries is also necessary for maximizing benefit from agricultural development such that rural income is largely spent on goods produced in rural areas. This market linkage between agriculture and industries sectors will call for systematic dispersal of industries on the basis of growth centres located in Upazilla and large markets. Technology upgradation and credit operation will determine the level of rural industrial development.

Development of infra-structures as mentioned earlier local development programme will need to be integrated into regional development plans. From the practical point of view it means that local economies must be integrated parts of a single national economy through inter-regional exchange of goods and services. For this purpose as well as for taking advantage of local development potential development of rural infra-structure will be necessary for the success of rural development strategy.

**Industrial strategy:** The main focus of industrial strategy should be to support agricultural and rural development and ensure optimal use of local resources both man and material. In view of the tremendous population pressure on land Bangladesh has to seek rapid industrial growth has a means of providing employment to the teeming million of the labour force.

As Bangladesh suffers from shortage of capital while cheap labour abounds choice of an appropriate mix of technology will remain at the centre of industrial planning. Bangladesh should exploit its comparative advantage through labour intensive technology but at the same time should also watch for transition to higher technology so as to be competitive in the developed market economies. Thus there will be need for blending of inward-looking import-competing industries with outward-looking export industries. Industries should provide the main fulcrum for the development of export in order to arrest deterioration of balance of payments problem and initiate long-term structural change for steady growth.

**Development of private sector:** The rate of growth of the economy that is imperative of jagged socio-economic problems cannot be ensured by the efforts of the public sector alone. In fact, given the severity of the problems a pragmatic approach towards rapid industrial development will need maximum use of all national resources financial technical and entrepreneurial in this private sector has to play a dynamic role. The Government has already expanded and scope for private investment and is providing various fiscal and financial incentives.

The expanded role of the private sector will call for a basic change in planning technique. Macro framework of past plans had been fully production-and-investment programme oriented. But as from now on private sector investment will have a key role to play. Policy planning should correspondingly assume greater importance than it received in the past. It may be mentioned here that the ongoing Trade and Industrial Policy (TIP) study will provide essential inputs for future policy planning.

**Strategy for population control:** Population control and family planning hold the ultimate key to the success of planned development in Bangladesh. It is clear from the scenario that the long term plan assumes a significant decline in population growth by the end of this century. To achieve this goal suitable legal and institutional reforms will be necessary for family planning. There should be both incentive and penalty systems to bring about the desired results. Such systems may include wide range of measures such as cash incentive for sterilisation issue of family planning bond to small families, opportunities to official privileges such as employment accommodation and ration, etc. At the same time the institutional capability will have to be further strengthened and the vigilance system improved. Further, mother-and-child health care will have to be improved to make it a triggering factor for family planning.

**Strategy for health care:** In spite of substantial effort of the past health status of people is still far from being satisfactory for the simple reason that curative programme has been generally over-emphasized. If primary health

service has to be ensured to all the emphasis should shift from curative to preventive services. These should contain (i) supply of safe drinking water (ii) village sanitation, (iii) health education at family level, (iv) control of communicable diseases, (v) improvement of paramedical services, (vi) strengthening of a vertical referral system through out the country and (vii) lastly improving the hygienic environment at community level. The community responsibility in health care should be the key for health to all by 2000 A.D.

Strategy for education: In education the priority is on basic education and skill training. Early in the next decade physical facilities for catching the entire school going children will be there.

The problem will be to provide trained teachers and develop training facilities. Skill training needed for converting idle manpower into productive assets and generating self employment. Secondary education will be the next area of emphasis while higher education will receive attention essentially in terms of quality improvement. Primary education will be a matter for local Governments to plan and develop. The focus of manpower development will be to train and educate people for productive work instead of producing educated unemployed.

Strategy for energy development: the basic objective is to increase per capita energy consumption and get a larger share converted into commercial energy forest regeneration and exploitation and commercial use of sun and winds should receive importance. Gas exploration and development will receive priority in the early years of the plan period so as to substitute petroleum import and generate resource for investment. Supply of gas all over the country will be ensured. Coal resources will be exploited and research for oil will continue. Dependence on imported oil will be minimal and nuclear power generation will take place by the end of the century. A country wide electrical network will cover most of the rural areas.

It needs to be recognized that the strategies mentioned above may not be all feasible at a time because of initial constraints nor will they be necessary at a time. Strategies will have to change with socio economic changes. Therefore, a rigid view on strategies will neither be pragmatic nor scientific.

CSO: 4600/1138

SHEIKH HASINA SPEAKS AT CHHATRA LEAGUE CONVENTION

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 29 Sep 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Sheikh Hasina Wazed, President Bangladesh Awami League on Wednesday stressed the need for united movement for the restoration of democracy and fundamental rights.

'We will take revenge of the killing of Bangobandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman not through bloodshed but by implementing the ideals and programmes of the late leader,' she added.

Addressing the two-day national convention-83 of Bangladesh Chhatra League (Jalal-Jahangir) at Dhaka University Battala on the day she also gave a call to the Chhatra League workers to be prepared for any sacrifice in the greater interest of the people.

The AL Chief with an oblique reference to Razzak faction of the party also called upon all those who have deserted the party and its front organisations to come under the banner of the party.

Presided over by Mr. Mostafa Jalal Mohiuddin, President of Bangladesh Chhatra League it was also addressed by Mr K. M. Jahangir, General Secretary Mr. Mohidur Rahman Babul, Vice-President, Mr. Sultan Ahmed and Mr Harunur Rashid.

Earlier there were rallies of the students on the campus. The convention scheduled to begin at 10 a.m. started at around 12 noon.

Sheikh Hasina hoisted the national flag while Mr. Hostafa Jalal Mohiuddin hoisted the party flag. Sheikh Hasina placed wreath at the portrait of Bangobandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

A condolence resolution was passed at the beginning of the meeting condoling the death of party leaders workers and other personalities including Uttam Kumar of India.

The function began with an inaugural song.

Sheikh Hasina criticised and condemned the use of arms and violence in different educational institutions since the August Change over in 1975. Sounding a note

of caution she said those who were trying to use the students for their self-interest in what she termed Ayub-Monem style, will not succeed.

The students of the country have always been playing a pioneering role in patriotic, progressive and national movements of the country, she said.

Replying to the charges of the Awami League faction led by Mr. Abdur Razzak, Sheikh Hasina said that she did not want anything as the heir of Bangobandhu 'I have returned to the country to give some thing to the people not for any personal interests. The idea of Bangobandhu is my capital', she said.

Sheikh Hasina explained the 12-point programme of her party and urged them to unitedly make the Demand Day programme organised by 15-party alliance on September 30, a success.

Sheikh Hasina demanded the holding of national election and handing over power to the elected representatives by the next winter.

She told her audience that the slogans alone do not help implementation of ideals, rather it required dedication.

The famine of 1974 was created by the agents of imperialism as the anti-liberation sources had always been active in the country, she said. The Liberation War of 1971 was fought at the call of Bangobandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the nation also became united she recalled.

Hinting at the Razzak faction of Awami League she said that those who were trying to find difference between the Mujib as an individual and an ideal Mujib are agents of the ruling class.

The values and principles for which the Liberation War was fought, are being ignored and neglected today, she regretted.

CSO: 4600/1122

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK DISSATISFIED WITH PROGRESS

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 8 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Abdul Qader]

[Text] The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has expressed grave concern over slow implementation of the aquaculture development project and fisheries credit project.

The ADB approved the aquaculture development project in 1977 while the fisheries credit project was approved in 1980. But the rate of disbursements in respect of both the aquaculture development project and fisheries development projects by the local authorities has been unsatisfactory over the years.

The Asian Development Bank in a recent letter to the finance secretary has indicated that the slow progress in the implementation of these projects may block the passage of approval for the proposed third agricultural credit project by the ADB.

The third agricultural credit project is now under consideration of the Bank. Under this project, credit will be provided to the agro-based industries.

The ADB sanctioned a loan of 18 million US dollars for the aquaculture development project and 10.8 million US dollars for the fisheries credit project.

The aquaculture development project was to be executed jointly by the Directorate of fisheries and Bangladesh Krishi Bank while the fisheries development project was to be executed exclusively by the Krishi Bank.

According to the loan agreement with the ADB, the aquaculture development project was scheduled to be completed by June last; But its implementation will be delayed by about three years.

The project received only a negligible amount of 7.31 lakh US dollars till June 30 this year and the money was entirely spent on account of consultancy services.

Despite the unsatisfactory progress in the implementation of the project, the concerned authorities did not wake up to the needs for making arrangement to accelerate the implementation by removing hurdles from its way.



The coordinaitón committee constituted to ensure coordination and communication between the project implementing agencies and their administrative offices has failed to meet for over a year.

It was stipulated in the loan agreement that the project coordination committee would have to meet regularly in order to achieve the objectives of the project.

#### FISHERIES PROJECT

In the case of the fisheries credit project, the ADB sanctioned a sum of 10.8 million US dollars from its special fund.

The project is designed to help the small-scale fishermen improve their socio-economic condition and raise fish production for domestic consumption.

The project has been delayed by two and a half years as only a meagre amount of 4000 US dollars has so far been disbursed for the project. The money was spent on consultancy fees.

Meanwhile, the ADB approved five major tenders amounting to 5.6 million US dollars on April 6 this year for procurement of equipment from abroad. But the Krishi Bank has not yet issued any letter of credit for these contract awards.

The project has suffered setback in its implementation for other various reasons too.

Disappointed at the poor performance of the concerned bodies in implementing the two projects, the ADB has proposed for making alternative arrangement including the change of executing agencies. The Bangladesh government has also been asked to give comment on the proposal at the earliest.

The ADB has sounded a note of warning that in extreme circumstances it may consider cancellation of the loans.

CSO: 4600/1135

EDUCATION MINISTER ADDRESSES NONALIGNED CULTURE MEET

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 1 Oct 83 pp 5, 6

[Text] It is a great honour and privilege for me to represent Bangladesh in this First Conference of the Ministers of Education and Culture of Non-Aligned and other developing countries. May I take this opportunity to extend to you the greetings of the Government and the people of Bangladesh on this august occasion. I would also like to offer our sincerest felicitations to the Government and the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for hosting this conference in the historic city of Pyongyang and for the warm and cordial reception to me as well as to other colleagues of the conference.

I would also like to express my deep appreciation for the insightful addresses of His Excellency the leader of the delegation of India, Chairman state of the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Hon. Leader of the delegation of Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We agree with their well-considered views on the urgent need for regular exchange of views on education and culture among the members of the Non-Aligned Movement and other developing countries. I am confident that their important addresses will immensely contribute to the successful conclusion of this conference.

The essential tenets of the Non-Aligned Movement are sovereign equality territorial integrity non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of states, non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes. Our strict adherence of these principles is of primary importance in strengthening our cultural and educational systems.

The commitment of Bangladesh to the principles and objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement is total and unequivocal. My Head of Government Lt. Gen. Hussain Muhammad Ershad, in his address to the VIIth Non-Aligned Meeting, said: "While we can legitimately pride ourselves on the positive contribution that the Non-Aligned Movement has made in maintaining a balance between East and West in the relaxation of international tension and in providing a sense of security, particularly to the smaller states, we have reasons to feel concerned with the recent developments within our own Movement. The recent trend towards polarisation along certain ideological lines must be arrested and reversed; otherwise the very Unity and Solidarity of the member-nations will be threatened. For Bangladesh Non-Alignment is of crucial importance. It is the cornerstone of our foreign policy. We have striven hard in the past to

safeguard and promote the principles and objectives of the Movement. We shall continue to do so in the future.

I am confident that this conference, held in pursuance of the decision of the VIIth Non-Aligned Summit, will help each of us to gain a closer understanding and greater appreciation of our respective cultural heritages and educational efforts.

Mr. Chairman, I have come from a country inhabited by 94 million people with a rich cultural heritage and a long history of colonial rule during which the indigenous culture and education suffered long neglect and turned into backwaters of superstitious traditions. The education which was introduced by the alien authority, though modern in style was meant to serve the needs of colonial administration. Over the years, the education became a privilege of the few and remained unresponsive to the socio-economic realities and cultural goals of the nation. Today the Government and people of Bangladesh are engaged in developing, consolidating and recasting the system of education inherited from the colonial days. We have been striving to build a people-oriented system in which each individual will be enabled to develop his basic potential to its highest level according to his ability and aptitude.

Mr. Chairman I should state without hesitation that the existing system of education that we inherited is characterised by colossal wastage and inefficiency and has outlived its utility. The Government, therefore, have embarked upon reconstructing and restructuring the system. The purpose is to augment the industrial and technical development of the country so as to continuously enable the nation to adjust to desired goals socio-cultural and religious values and encourage innovation and entrepreneurship for achieving an accelerated pace of social progress and instilling in the youth the highest sense of integrity, honour and responsibility.

Mr. Chairman, the salient features of the new education policy I have indicated are: (a) provision of a meaningful literacy base by effective implementation of primary education; (b) making education open-ended throughout life by providing multiple entry points; (c) provision for vocational and technical education at different levels along with general education from the very beginning of the secondary stage; and (d) providing opportunity for higher education according to individual needs and aptitudes.

Mr. Chairman, in line with these principles a number of measures have already been initiated for attaining the desired goals some of which I would like to mention briefly.

Primary or basic education of 5 years' duration at the first instance (to be raised to 8 years as resources become available) has been recognised as an inalienable human right and in the current five-year development plan (1980-85) of the country the highest priority has been accorded to it; nearly 50% of the outlay in education being devoted to it. Provision has been made for a primary school for 2,000 people or for an area of 2 sq. kilometres. Text-books and school uniforms have been provided by the Government free of cost to primary children; for improvement of the quality of teaching in primary

schools teachers' manuals have been prepared and the duration of primary teacher training has been extended from one to two years. Facilities for in-service training of instructors of primary training institutes have been created, and in the recruitment of teachers preference is being given to women who have so far played a negligible role in national development efforts. To ensure community participation in education at the grassroot level, community learning centres (CLCs) have been established for continuous exchange of ideas and views among parents teachers and government functionaries so that school attendance could be improved and the dropout rate could be reduced. As the nation remains committed to universal primary education it will continue to receive ever greater attention in the years ahead.

In the field of secondary education an important development is the changeover from considering it as preparatory to higher education to designing it as a meaningful terminal for the majority of children. Apart from providing instruction in the usual school subjects work experience and training in selected trades are being provided both to the pupils and to members of the community. To open opportunities of science education, facilities are being created in almost all secondary and higher secondary schools.

In the area of technical education a comprehensive plan has been undertaken for development and modernisation of 4 engineering colleges 1 college of leather technology 17 polytechnics and 1 institute of glass and ceramice. A number of higher secondary technical schools offering 2-year courses in various branches of technology are proposed to be established to create new avenues of employment to higher secondary graduates. Provision has also been made for expanded and better in-service training facilities for teachers and administrators of technical institutions. A new avenue of mobility for polytechnic diploma holders to the degree level in engineering has been opened. A special programme entitled 'learn while you earn' which has been recently introduced in selected technical institutions, has evoked great interest among the teachers and students.

In higher education a fundamental change in thinking has taken place. While larger plan for higher education are being primary or basic education, simultaneously opportunities for higher education are being extended, keeping in view individual abilities and aptitudes. In order that parental income does not become a handicap for entry into higher education provision has been made for generous scholarships on the basis of merit. Furthermore, with a view to making higher education available to people outside the metropolitan cities, university colleges are proposed to be set up at each of the district headquarters. Although opportunities for higher education are being expanded merit irrespective of socio-economic status remains the basic criterion for admission to the institutions of higher learning. Efforts are also being made to reduce, as far as possible within available resources, the present imbalance between the humanities and liberal arts on the one hand and science and technology on the other with increasing emphasis on the latter.

Mr Chairman, education in Bangladesh is still grossly under-financed. Despite the resource constraint, the country has gone ahead with the creation of new educational facilities and the reorganization of educational administration

and management. A number of new institutions have been established to raise the efficiency of the educational system. Among the innovative measures in this field, I might mention about the setting up of the National Institute of Educational Administration, Extension and Research (NIEAER) for in-service training of senior educational administrators and supervisors nistration and management. For continuous review and evaluation of curricula at the primary secondary and higher secondary levels, a National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) has been established and for the sake of economy and efficiency, it is now being merged with the Bangladesh School Textbook Board. The Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS) has been created for collection, compilation, and dissemination of educational statistics at all levels. Furthermore, with a view to supplementing formal classroom instruction and for opening a channel of second chance education through correspondence and the radio and TV for those not in a position to avail themselves of the benefit of the formal school system, the National Institute of Educational Media and Technology (NIEMT) has been strengthened. Finally, for bringing primary education to the door-step of the rural masses, its administration and management have been delegated to the authorities at the subdistrict (Upa-Zilla) level.

To sum up, Mr. Chairman, Bangladesh has undertaken to reform its education system the principles of the reform lying in (a) establishment of a uniform education oriented to raise the quality of human resource both in terms of morals and performance skills of a modern complex society; (b) relating education to the needs of the society and producing trained and motivated citizens to serve these needs; (c) equalizing educational opportunity intended to contribute to education for all irrespective of locality differences means, social status, religion and sex; and (d) bringing administration and management of education closer to the people.

CSO: 4600/1120

## NEW INDUSTRIAL POLICY REPORTED TO HAVE GOOD RESULTS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 28 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] The New industrial policy supplemented by simplified procedure for the approval of investment proposals particularly for foreign capital investments has produced encouraging results.

According to sources capital involved in the joint venture proposals sanctioned by the Government during the last financial year (1982-83) was about Taka 106 crore which was the largest foreign investment proposals sanctioned in the country since independence.

The capital investment in the joint venture proposals between local and foreign investors during first two months of the current fiscal year amounted to about Taka 73 crore.

The foreign investment proposals sanctioned during last 14 months included products like electric lamps paints readymade garments specialised textiles footwear quality cigarette television sets and components glass sheets chemicals steel casting shipping coaster road transport PVC pipes electronic goods electric metre quality matches etc.

During 1982-83 nineteen foreign investment proposals were sanctioned as against only three proposals sanctioned during 1981-82. The number of foreign investment proposals sanctioned during last two months of the current fiscal year was 11. Investors from France USA Canada ROK Japan Panama Holland UK Sweden Singapore Hong Kong Pakistan FRG DPR-Korea Switzerland and Thailand are participating in the joint ventures.

The "one stop service" introduced by the Government from July 1, 1982 has been providing pre-sanction and post-sanction services to the industrial entrepreneurs both local and foreign.

### Courtesy Service

The Department of Industries with a view to helping the foreign investors further has already introduced a new service styled "foreign investors courtesy service."

Under the new arrangement facilities now exist for the reception of foreign investors at the airport and arranging hotel accommodation transport etc. Experienced staff are available to help draw up an itinerary in accordance with the needs of the entrepreneurs and take them to appropriate agencies. The service is free of charge.

Any intending foreign investor can avail the courtesy service through prior information to the Director Foreign Investors Courtesy Service of the Department of Industries.

CSO: 4600/1121



UKIL THANKS SHEIKH HASINA FOR WITHDRAWING CHARGES

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 13 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Awami League presidium member Abdul Malek Ukil in a letter to party chief Sheikh Hasina yesterday congratulated her for withdrawing the charges against him, according to a reliable source.

In his letter he expressed his loyalty to the leadership of Sheikh Hasina.

Malek Ukil said, he had done politics throughout his life under the leadership of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and he had confidence in the leadership of his daughter.

Mr. Ukil last night said, "now it is my moral obligation to remain with the mainstream of Awami League as charges against me are withdrawn."

Talking to ENA at his Banani residence Mr Ukil said, "I cannot stay away from the mainstream of the party with which I had been associated since its inception, nor can I fail to reciprocate to the sentiments which Sheikh Hasina has shown me calling me back to the party."

He said, "it is true that there was misunderstanding between us but I had always given signals and indications that there was scope for removing such misunderstanding." He reminded that he had earlier said there was no last word in politics and that avenues to reunite the party had not been blocked for good.

He said indeed both factions Hasina--Razzak were guided more by emotion and sentiment than reasoning "but at my age I must respond to logic" he added.

Mr Ukil said he did not want to let down Mr Razzak or to use him for personal gain. He said he is going back to the mainstream because, "I think the sad incident that is now taking place did not have its origin in ideological differences."

He appealed to everybody to be rational and to strengthen Awami League headed by Sheikh Hasina and hold aloft the ideas of "Bangabandhu."

He said, "had such a long association with the family of the Bangabandhu that I could not convince my own conscience that we will go to the people in the name of Bangabandhu but at the same time remain away from his organisation."

Mr Ukil attired in a white punjabi and roundcap said he had just returned from Hajj as a member of the official goodwill delegation and added "i'am proud that I could represent my country in that holy land".

CSO: 4600/1144

MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON YOUTH DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 27 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Air Vice Marshal (Retd) Aminul Islam Minister for Labour Manpower and Youth Development on Monday announced the Government's youth development policy aiming at utilising the youth community for national development and solving their unemployment and other problems.

The Minister told BSS in an interview that though youth development work was initiated in 1979 in the interest of the youth community there was no policy in this regard as a result of which everything ended in a haphazard manner previously.

Air Marshal Islam said that about 60 per cent of the country's 12 million unemployed people were youth's.

The present government under its newly-adopted youth policy he said would seek to train the youth people so that they could themselves find ways for gainful employment instead of remaining as burdens of the society

This year he said 18,000 young people are trained in 35 trades. Of the total about 4000 would come under the self-employment programme in the rural areas.

The Minister said that this year the government earmarked Taka four crore for youth development and the self employment programme.

The people in the age group of 15-30 are most frustrated the Minister said adding that unless they were involved in all the social activity no development efforts would be fruitful.

That is why he said the present government would do everything to train the young people especially the drop outs from schools in the rural areas in different trades and provide bank credits so that they could do something on their own.

Air Marshal Islam said that already some young people have been given training in a number of trades including cattle and poultry farming and pisciculture and the treatment of cattle and poultry diseases. These young men he added have already showed their worth and become useful to themselves as well as the society.

The Minister said a trained young man can help other young people learn the trades and create employment for them.

This he said was also contributing to increased production more purchasing power and greater economic activity without which the ills of the economy would be difficult to solve.

The Minister hope that the programme was being implemented in manner that the International Year of the Youth would be observed in 1985 with massive participation by the youth in resolving their problems by themselves.

Describing the youth development activity of the present government as a "consolidated programme", the Minister said it was based on a definite policy, a set pattern and the positive objective of utilising the most able section of the society for national progress and development.

The Minister gave the salient features of the youth policy as follows:

--Development of the moral, economic and social conditions of the youth through coordinated, organised and integrated efforts in the overall national infrastructure development process.

--Providing the educated, half-educated and illiterate young people with the professional, technical and vocational training skill and efficiency to enable them to effectively participate in the socio-economic development activities.

--To encourage the youth to have dignity in labour and confidence in their own ability to do something.

CSO: 4600/1119

INDIAN BARRAGES ON MAHANANDA RESTRICT WATER FLOW

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 12 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Article by Amanullah Kabir]

[Text] India has arbitrarily constructed two barrages on the Mahananda to divert its water for irrigation in Bihar and West Bengal.

With the construction of the barrages on the river, which has twice flowed into Bangladesh, we will be deprived of the due share of the water of the Mahananda.

The Mahananda meanders and crosses into the border area of Dinajpur and again enters West Bengal, and from West Bengal it flows into Rajshahi and again enters the territory of India.

But surprisingly, the issue has never come up for discussion in the Joint Rivers Commission talks. The concerned authority of Bangladesh Government is aware of the problem and its danger, but could not give a satisfactory answer.

The Indian Government has already completed construction of the two barrages on the Mahananda--one at the meeting point of the link canal between the Tista and the Mahananda at Fulbaria of Bihar and the other at Haptiangaj of West Bengal.

India has also built a number of small structures on the tributaries of the international rivers and dug canals linking them to divert the waters to serve her interest.

Meanwhile, India has completed about 60 per cent construction work of the barrage in the upper riparian of the Tista and it will be ready by 1985, while our long awaited Tista project is expected to be completed by '87 provided the required fund is available.

The link canal, which is learnt to be about 50 feet wide and 40 feet deep and passes through Fulbaria, has intersected the Mahananda at Haptiaganj where an aquaduct has been built to regulate the water.

The Fulbaria barrage, which has been built as a multi-purpose complex will also be used for diverting the water of the Tista. It will simultaneously control the flow of the Mahananda and a part of India's share of the Tista water.

Effects of the Fulbaria barrage:

- 1) Vast area of Dinajpur and Rajshahi, through which the Mahananda has crossed will get flooded during the monsoon as India will release the surplus water through the barrage;
- 2) Vast area of the two districts will have desertified during the dry season as India will withdraw water at Fulbaria and release water at Haptiaganj;
- 3) Flow of gravels and shingles will stop thus causing a great financial loss for Bangladesh and depriving many people of the area of their source of livelihood, and
- 4) Bangladesh will be deprived of the fish resources of the Mahananda.

According to the local people of Tetulia, Dinajpur, which is the entry point of the Mahananda, India has already commissioned the Fulbaria barrage. Due to release of huge quantity of water at Fulbaria, a vast area of Tetulia has been devoured by the Mahananda during the current monsoon.

On the other hand, a big 'char' has developed on the other side of the river. The Indian people enjoy free movement there.

CSO: 4600/1140

MANPOWER PLANNING CENTER SURVEYS EMPLOYMENT SITUATION

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 23 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] About 60 per cent of the modern sector establishments are located in only six districts of the country employing about 74 per cent of the total manpower engaged in the sector according to a survey conducted by the Bangladesh Manpower Planning Centre (BMPC).

The districts in which the establishments are located are: Dhaka Chittagong Khulna Sylhet Pabna and Rangpur.

The BMPC survey covered establishments employing 10 or more workers in the modern sector which include manufacturing sector electricity gas and water construction wholesale and retail trade hotels and restaurants transport communication storage financing insurance and real estate business community social and personnel service and agricultural farms and tea estates.

According to the survey modern sector employment level exceeded one lakh marks only in three districts namely Dhaka Chittagong and Sylhet. In Jamalpur Tangail Noakhali Chittagong Hill Tracts Bandarban Patuakhah Kushtia Dinajpur and Bogra modern sector employment level is lower than 20000.

The highest number of establishments are located in Rangpur (2282) followed by Dhaka (2130) and Chittagong (915). However modern sector establishments in Dhaka employ the highest number of people (324299).

The employment level covered during the survey stood at 964382 representing 12.96 per cent of the estimated non-agricultural employment. It is estimated that not more than 25 per cent of the employed persons are engaged in the modern sector.

According to the survey findings less than 10,000 persons are employed in the manufacturing industries. In Dhaka Chittagong Comilla Kaulna Jessore Pubna and Rangpur employment in the manufacturing establishments exceeds 10,000.

Government and semi-government establishments dominate the employment scene in the modern sector. About two-thirds of the total employment covered by the survey are in the government and semi-government establishments. Though



private sector establishments constitute over 50 per cent of the total establishments covered the level of employment in the private sector was found to be only 35 per cent.

Manufacturing establishments offer more than half of available employment opportunities in the modern sector. Services sector is the second largest employment sector claiming about one-fifth of the modern sector employment.

In the manufacturing and trade activities the number of establishments in the private sector constitutes 92.7 per cent (4:369) and 90 percent (252) respectively. In all other economic activities the share of private sector establishments varies between 0.6 per cent of the total in case of electricity; gas water and 21.1 per cent in case of agriculture forestry fisheries and livestock.

In the manufacturing group of economic activity the private sector establishments claim 45.7 per cent of employment and in the trade and commerce group of economic activity the private sector claims 63.7 per cent of employment while in the agriculture and related services about 78 per cent.

CSO: 4600/1118

BRIEFS

CHHATRA LEAGUE OFFICIALS--The central conference and council meeting of the Bangladesh Chhatra League (Akhter-Shekhar) concluded on Thursday. The executive committee on Friday announced a 35-member panel for the session 1984-85. The newly elected 35-member panel is President Mr Akhteruzzaman, Vice-Presidents Mr. Mufakharul Islam Nahbab Mr. Emtiazuddin Pasha Abu Saleh Hasinur Rahman Resul Hasan Siddique, General Secretary Mr. A. K. M. Zohirul Islam, Assistant General Secretaries Mr. Motiur Rahman Syed Abdul Mahbud Mohsin-uzzaman Mitu Shahabuddin, Abdus Salam, Organising Secretary Sheikh Mustafa Faruque Office Secretary Ismail Hossain Assistant Secretaries Mashud Rana and Syed Ali Akbor, Publicity Secretary Mr. Zohirul Islam Literary and Cultural Secretary Asraful Haque Mukul. Finance Secretary Zohirul Kobir Babul. Members--Zahar Uddin Atiqur Rahman Feroz Kabir Abdur Rashid Belal Chowdhury, Kamrul Ahsan Khosru, Sultana Akhter Rubi Abul Khair Bhuiyan Sheikh Abu Hasan Shouket, Hossain Ahmed Aeyub Ali Abdul Mannan Shafaquir, Abu Bakar Bhuiyan, Abdus Ghoker Nantu. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 1 Oct 83 p 12]

NEW BELGIAN AMBASSADOR--Mr Michel F. Swiatopolk-Czerwertynski has been appointed Ambassador of Belgium to Bangladesh with residence in New Delhi, reports BSS. Born on November 20, 1938 he graduated in Political and Social Sciences. He joined the diplomatic service in 1968 and served the Belgian missions in Rio De Janeiro, Helsinki Brussels and London. At present he is Counsellor at the Belgian embassy in New Delhi. He is married. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 28 Sep 83 p 8]

FOOD TARGET ASSURED--Mr. A. Z. M. Obaidullah Khan, Minister of Agriculture, said that the target of 16.1 million tons of foodgrains production during the current year would be attained despite substantial damage caused to aman paddy by the recent flood. Mr. Obaidullah Khan talking to The Bangladesh Observer at his Secretariat Chamber on Monday exuded confidence in stating that the loss to aman crops would be recouped by a massive thrust on rabi crop production particularly wheat and corn. The Agriculture Minister said that final assessment of the damage caused to aman paddy due to recent flood would take sometime but according to a rough estimate, transplanted aman in about 40,000 acres of land has been completely damaged. The extent of loss of broadcast aman would be about five per cent. Mr. Obaidullah Khan said accelerated production of wheat and boro would help in making up the loss of the aman crop. The total aman production is about 80 lakh tons which

is 50 per cent of the foodgrain production target of the current year. The success of the boro crop and wheat is largely dependent on the availability or irrigation facilities and timely delivery of other agricultural inputs. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 27 Sep 83 p 1]

INDIA SEIZES TRAWLER--NEW DELHI, Oct. 12: A "Bangladesh-chartered", Thai fishing trawler was recently "seized" by Indian coastal guards in the Bay of Bengal, reports BSS. The trawler with a catch of eleven tonnes of shrimp and prawn was intercepted after the Indian coastal vessel fired several rounds, reports from Calcutta today said quoting official sources. The trawler with four Bangladeshi and 25 Thai nationals on board is now under police custody at Haldia dock in West Bengal. The coast guards headquarters in the Indian capital is in touch with the Thai embassy here for the repatriation of their nationals, said reports without mentioning the fate of the Bangladeshis. According to report, examination of papers revealed that trawler was registered by Messrs Blue Bay, a fishing company at Dhaka. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 13 Oct 83 p 1]

AMBASSADOR TO TUNISIA--The Government has decided to concurrently accredit Mr Reaz Rahman at present Ambassador of Bangladesh to Italy as Bangladesh Ambassador to Tunisia a Foreign Office announcement said on Tuesday, reports BSS. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 13 Oct 83 p 3]

BITUMEN TO INDIA--The Bangladesh Petroleum Corporation and the Indian Oil Corporation signed an agreement on Wednesday for export of 20 thousand metric tons of bitumen to India, a Press release of BPC said reports BSS. The supply is expected to be completed by the end of March next. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 7 Oct 83 p 3]

SUGARCANE PRICE RAISED--A meeting of the Council of Ministers was held on Sunday night under the chairmanship of Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad reports BSS. The Council discussed the sugar policy for the year 1983-84. It decided to raise the purchase price of sugarcane by the sugarmills to Taka 17 from the present price of Taka 15 per maund to encourage sugarcane production and give incentives to the growers. The growers will also get an additional 75 paisa per maund for every fortnight for the sugarcane purchased by mills after February 15 1984 with a maximum price of Taka 20 per maund. The Council further decided that despite the higher purchase price of sugarcane there would be no increase in the ration price of sugar. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 4 Oct 83 p 1]

NEW DIGITAL SYSTEM--Bangla digits can now be displayed electronically by using Light Emitting Diodes (LED) in digital clocks, scientific instruments etc. Till now electronic displaying of numerals was done in English. In the new Bangla digital system, led with 12 segments are used instead of normal 7 segments in English. Dr. Mahboobur Rahman, Assistant Professor of Electrical and Electronic Engineering Department of Bangladesh University of Engineering & Technology (BUET) has designed and constructed an electronic digital clock displaying in Bangla numerals recently, Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, a post-graduate student of the same faculty assisted him in the invention. An electronic system which will display Bangla alphabetic letters is now about to

be developed by Dr. Rahman. Using both Bengali numerals and alphabetic system, Bangla print can be obtained in a computer's output. This design principle can also be used for billing in Bangla in banks and for other statistical purposes. While showing his newly developed system Dr. Mahboob said research and design work were being hampered due to non-availability of Integrated Circuit (IC), chips and other necessary electronic components. Dr. Rahman claimed any computerised system could be developed in the country if Government could provide necessary financial assistance and electronic components required for research. Dr. Mahboob designed and constructed a microprocessor in July last year. He also designed a universal microcomputer system for industrial automation while he was in Hungary. The microcomputer is now being used there in a glass factory. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 29 Sep 83 p 1]

SUDANESE ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS--The new Sudanese Ambassador to Bangladesh Mr. Mohammad El-Makki Ibrahim presented his credentials to President Mr. Justice Ahsanuddin Chowdhury at the Bangabhaban on Thursday morning, says a PID handout. Presenting his credentials the envoy said that the relations between his country and Bangladesh was based on religious, cultural and fraternal ties and added that he would put in his best efforts to maintain and promote the same to the mutual benefit of both the nations. The envoy conveyed to the President the greetings from the President of the Democratic Republic of Sudan for his health and happiness and wishes for the continued peace and prosperity of the people of Bangladesh. Reciprocating the sentiments expressed by the envoy the President said that the people of both the countries were bound by close historical religious and cultural ties. He said Bangladesh and Sudan held identical views on various international political issues and added that the two countries were playing significant role in promoting Islamic solidarity. The President conveyed his best wishes for the personal health and happiness of the President of the Republic of Sudan and for continued peace and progress of the brotherly people of Sudan. Earlier on arrival at the Bangabhaban the envoy took a salute presented by a smartly turned-out contingent of the President's Guard Regiment and inspected the guard. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Oct 83 p 8]

BANK CREDIT STATISTICS--The net expansion in bank credits (excluding the government operations) during the first quarter of the current fiscal year, 1983-84, was recorded at Taka 50 crore as against Taka 181 crore during the corresponding period of the last year, 1982-83. The total outstanding bank credits (excluding government operations) stood at the level of Taka 5424 crore on September 30, 1983 as against Taka 5369 crore on June 30, 1983. The share of the private sector in the aggregate bank credits had, however, registered a further increase during July-September period of the current fiscal year. There was a net contraction in public sector's borrowings from the banking system. The total outstanding bank credits to the private sector had thus increased from Taka 3093 crore on June 30, 1983 to Taka 3191 crore on September 30, 1983. In case of the public sector, bank credits contracted from the level of Taka 2273 crore at June-end, 1983 to Taka 2233 at September-end 1983. The deposits (both demand and time) with the scheduled banks had marked an increase of about Taka 150 crore during the first quarter of the current financial year from Taka 4850 crore on June 30 1983 to Taka 5100 crore on September 30, 1983. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 13 Oct 83 p 1]

TIES WITH DJIBOUTI--The Government of Bangladesh and the Government of the Republic of Djibouti have decided to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level as of September 25, 1983, reports BSS. Bangladesh will maintain diplomatic relations with Djibouti through concurrent accreditation of one of its Ambassadors High Commissioners from a nearby resident mission. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 13 Oct 83 p 12]

ELECTION COMMISSIONER APPOINTED--Mr Abdul Momith Chaudhury has been appointed Election Commissioner for one year with effect from October 20 1983 an official handout said in Dhaka on Wednesday night reports BSS. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 13 Oct 83 p 12]

SAUDI CHARGE D'AFFAIRES--Mr. Mostafa A. Nasraddin has taken over as charge d'Affaires, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in Bangladesh, said on Embassy Press release in Dhaka on Wednesday reports ENA. He succeeds Mr. Zaini Ahmed Al-Ghamidi. Mr. Mostafa A. Nasraddin brings with him 20 years of valuable experience in the Kingdom's Foreign Service. Earlier, on the basis of his academic record, he was selected by the Government for studies at Al-Azhar University in Cairo where he obtained a degree in Sharia in 1952 with the highest honours. While at Al-Azhar University he also took flying lessons obtaining his licence as a commercial pilot. On his return to Jeddah from Cairo in 1952, he became a pilot in Saudi Arabian airlines where he worked for 5 years before taking up another appointment in the Education Ministry as Head of the Secondary and industrial school in Jeddah. After completing seven years service in the Education Ministry Mr. Mostafa A. Nasraddin was absorbed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and got his first assignment in Nicosia, Cyprus. He has been Charge d'Affaires in Zaire and in Kano, Nigeria and some Arab countries. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 6 Oct 83 p 12]

BURMA DETAINS TRAWLERS--October 11: Burmese authority is reluctant to release nine Bangladesh fishing trawlers and 56 Bangladeshi fishermen and crew whisked away by Burmese Navy from the river Naaf estuary on September 24 last, it is learnt here from a reliable source. Bangladesh Foreign Ministry lodged protest to Burmese Government recently with a call to release the vessels and the crew arrested illegally from Bangladesh water. But it is learnt Burmese Government sent a reply to the note saying the vessels along with Bangladesh crew were rounded up from Burmese water for illegal fishing. The seizure of the trawlers and the crew was reported in the New Nation on September 30 last. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 12 Oct 83 pp 1, 8]

ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR'S CREDENTIALS--The new Ambassador of Argentina to Bangladesh Mr Tomas Alva Negri presented his credentials to President Mr Justice Ahsanuddin Chowdhury at the Bangabhaban in Dhaka on Monday morning, says a PID handout. Presenting his credentials, the envoy said that he would strive his best to maintain and promote the existing bond of mutual understanding and friendship between his country and Bangladesh to the mutual benefit of both the nations. He said that the Government and the people of Argentina were appreciative of the progress attained in recent years by Bangladesh and wished her further progress and prosperity in the years ahead. The envoy conveyed to the President the greetings of the President of Argentine Republic and wished peace and prosperity for the people of Bangladesh. Earlier on

arrival at Bangabhaban the envoy took a salute presented by a smartly turned-out contingent of the President's Guard Regiment and inspected the Guards.  
[Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 12 Oct 83 p 3]

TIES WITH GUATEMALA--The government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Government of the Republic of Guatemala have agreed to establish diplomatic relations at the Ambassadorial level as of Friday, October 7; 1983 says a PID handout. Bangladesh will maintain diplomatic relations with Guatemala through concurrent accreditation of one of its Ambassador High Commissioner from a nearby resident Mission. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 8 Oct 83 p 12]

CSO: 4600/1133

# U.S. BLAMED FOR DEVELOPMENTS IN PERSIAN GULF

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 12 Oct 83 p 2

[Editorial: "US Strategy in The Persian Gulf"]

[Text] It is commonly believed that the Ba'athist regime of Iraq, by receiving the Super-Etandard planes, will be able to aim it freely at any chosen target, without duly considering its probable outcome. However, the motives of war, and global imperialism's role in directing Saddam, reveal that the above view is quite naive, because, a regime that imposes an all-out war on the Islamic Republic of Iran on the orders and direction of global imperialism, and receives unstinted help from it, should certainly follow the directives of global imperialism during the crucial stages of the war.

Moreover, the hullabaloo raised by the Western imperialists and Japan, regarding delivery of the French aircraft to Iraq, and finally their approval of it --more importantly, Claude Cheysson's statements--are all pointers to the reality that Saddam will never take any definite moves in the Persian Gulf region without taking the interests of global imperialism into consideration. Of course, the Ba'athist circles believe that the emergence of fresh problems in Iraq's prevalent situation, such as economic problems and heavy internal pressure, will push Saddam to take adventurous risks in the event of danger.

We are of the opinion that when global imperialism encounters a dilemma,--the preservation of the Ba'athist regime of Iraq and the stability of global energy resources--and has to choose one in special conditions, it will certainly choose the latter. However, this does not mean that global imperialism will leave Saddam alone in his moment of political crisis, but will rather prefer to find out other solutions to save the Ba'athist regime of Baghdad.

Global imperialism's strategy regarding the Persian Gulf after the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, faced great political turbulence. In its initial measures, to replace the vacuum after the shah's fall, the U.S. supplied weapons to the regional reactionary countries, despatched its naval fleet to the Sea of Oman and established the Rapid Deployment Forces. However, at that time it was clear to political observers that these U.S. tactics were reactions to the victory of the Islamic Revolution and were not strategic moves. America was looking forward to replacing the shah in order to control and calm down the restless situation in the region following his fall.



According to the most detailed analysis and clear evidence, the Iraq-imposed war against Iran was a major and an all-out tactic that the US chose after the shah. Following presumptions stemming from Washington's calculations. Iraq, through its all-out attack on Iran, changed the balance of power, which had tilted towards the revolutionary trend of events in the region after the shah's downfall, in favor of the long-range global interests of imperialism. However, this U.S. political gambit also, like other American measures for harassing the Islamic Revolution of Iran, met with defeat. Iraq's failure to realize the imperialist objectives, further heightened the crisis in the region. Consequently, Washington decided to hand over the responsibility of the security of the Persian Gulf to a group of regional countries so that they might protect imperialism's crucial interests in this sensitive region of the globe.

This U.S. decision culminated in the creation of the "Persian Gulf Cooperation Council," that was in fact a reaction to the victory of Iran against Iraq in the imposed war. Moreover, the council had a duty to coordinate economic and oil policies of the member countries, create a security belt around the reactionary nations and more importantly, to shoulder responsibilities stemming from Saddam's imminent downfall.

The recent military maneuvers codenamed, "Super Island" that was recently carried out by the regional reactionary states, was in fact a fence that imperialism had drawn to block the danger of the extension of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and to safeguard the shaky client regimes.

From these events and realities, it should be gathered that the U.S. does not intend, in the present circumstances, to stabilize the balance of power in the oil-rich Persian Gulf region through direct military intervention, because, due to innumerable reasons, the West does not plan to go on an adventurous spree without closely scrutinizing the pros and cons of it dangerous enterprise which might turn the region into an infernal holocaust.

CSO: 4600/70

U.S. REMINDED TO TAKE LESSON FROM 'VIETNAM DEBACLE'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 26 Oct 83 p 1

[Editorial by Ali Zulfiqari: "A Message for the 'Peace Keepers'"]

[Text]

FOR once again the intervention forces of the Western regimes became the direct target of the Lebanese people struggling to liberate their homeland from foreign aggressors and a puppet regime installed in the wake of the Zionist aggression against this Moslem country.

For once again, the U.S. statesmen have started their idiotic harangues blaming other foreign governments instead of acknowledging the furious resistance of the Lebanese Moslems to American "peace" and a lackey regime which is a part and parcel of the U.S.-Zionist plans for Lebanon. The Western governments in general and the Great Satan in particular give themselves the right of interfering in the affairs of other countries in the unholy name of their interests and under the euphemistic label: "peace", and are quick to brand any sign of resistance on the part of victims as terrorism. Does it not occur to the U.S. statesmen that what happened in Lebanon to their Marines' headquarters is no more than a desperate reply to the tone of "peace" shells fired by U.S. ships on the heads of a people averse to foreign intervention and occupation of their homeland?

The true culprit in the whole affair are the criminals in Washington, Tel Aviv and Paris, for whom neither the lives of their own youth nor those of the people of other lands have any value whatsoever when it comes to their politico-economic interests in any part of the globe.

The bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut and that of U.S. and French headquarters in that city should serve as a signal of warning that the

U.S. and other Western forces have no business whatsoever in Moslem lands. This is the message of the Moslem Ummah and not only that of the oppressed Lebanese nation.

Basically, the mission of the Western "peacekeepers" in Lebanon is not much different from that of the Russian army in Afghanistan. If any audible response - however weak, though audible over propaganda clamour - to the atrocities of aggressors in a foreign land may be branded as "terrorism," the dictionary fails to furnish a suitable word to describe the nature of the acts of aggressors which incite such responses of resistance.

The U.S. statesmen, if they really wish to do service to their own countrymen, would do better to scrap their wicked plans against other nations, instead of raging a deceptive propaganda to fool them and shedding crocodile tears over the bodies of youth who are direct victims of their atrocious policies.

Deadly euphemisms as tools of propaganda such as "honor" and "peace" may boost the morale of propaganda experts of Western governments for a while; but the American nation, which has seen more than 50,000 Americans sacrificed for the sake of CIA's "honor" and sees hundreds of its youth dying for the sake of Reagan's predilection for "peace" in unfortunate lands, will at last see the reality beyond the propaganda mists.

If the American nation has really taken any lessons from the Vietnam debacle, it should not be deaf to the innocent, oppressed cry that echoes from those fiery explosions in Beirut: "Get out, and leave me alone."

CSO: 4600/81

# IRNA COMMENTS ON YUGOSLAVIA'S 'SUPPORT OF IRAQI INVADERS'

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 24 Oct 83 p 2

[Text]

**TEHRAN, Oct. 23 (IRNA) —** The Persian daily Jomhuri Eslami said in its Thursday's editorial that Belgrade has tried to seek concessions from the Ba'athist government in Iraq in a bid to bolster its own ailing economy, apparently unaware that Saddam Hussein's commitment to Yugoslavia will never be respected by the future government of Iraq.

In a reproachful criticism of Belgrade's rapprochement with Baghdad in the face of the escalating war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic the editorial said that it is surprising why Yugoslavia as a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement should bring themselves to side with the governments such as the Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf sheikhdoms in order to uphold the Baghdad regime.

The editorial said that by siding with the Baghdad regime in the on-going war the Yugoslavs have deplorably blemished their political stand at the global level. Excerpts:

The foreign policy of the socialist government of Yugoslavia has had many sharp ups and downs during the recent years. The tidal turns in the foreign policies of the Yugoslavs have recently led to unexpected shifts, raising questions about the political stand of Yugoslavia as one of the founding members of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Yugoslavia's Prime Minister Milka Planintz recently made an unexpected visit to Baghdad. On Tuesday October 18 she held talks with Saddam Hussein, the very person who has trampled upon the words and spirit of the Non-Aligned Movement by embroiling Iran in an unwanted war during the past three years. However much the talks may have been inspired by a growing concern on the part of the Yugoslavs about the fate of their 11.5 billion dollars investment in Iraq, nonetheless they indicate also that in their choice between maintaining their political prestige and safeguarding transitory economic interests they have not made a wise decision...However much as such relations may be interpreted as efforts for compensating Yugoslavs foreign exchange deficits such excuses are disproved by hasty visits to Baghdad of Yugoslavia's deputy prime minister during the past six months. Already the Yugoslav officials are openly voicing concern about the fate of their investment in Baghdad....

Yugoslavia has to cope with severe economic problems at home, and until the recent past it was hopeful about an eventual improvement in the economic situation in Iraq ... The Yugoslav press which until only recently portraying Iraq as a powerful government unflinchingly loyal to the principles of the non-alignment,

now publish candid reports of dwindling financial resources of Baghdad and its incapacity to pay off its foreign loans...

Despite the present circumstances the Yugoslavs are hopeful of winning concessions from the Ba'athists of the Iraqi government. They are apparently unaware, however, that commitments by the Baghdad government will not be respected in the dawn of the fall of the Baghdad regime... However independent the development of relations between Baghdad and Belgrade from Washington policies may seem one cannot help wondering how as a founder member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Yugoslavia can bring itself to side with the most reactionary and U.S.-inspired governments such as the Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf sheikhdoms in a bid to save the life of the Baghdad regime.

No doubt the Yugoslavs are not

likely to get back anything in this deal, but more sorrowing than that is the disgrace of the political stature of the Yugoslavs at the global level. The siding of the socialists with the Baghdad government cannot possibly whitewash the hideous crimes of the Ba'athists. But more possibly such efforts are doomed to end in historical set-backs... Whatever it may be that the popular revolutions distinguish the financial obligations of dependent governments in two separate classifications. First the category of justifiable financial obligations which will be respected (by revolutionary governments). Second predatory and enslaving obligations which are not the least likely to be recognized by any revolutionary government in any part of the world.

The Yugoslav leaders would be much better advised to prove in their approaches that their relations with Iraq are not typical of the second category.

CSO: 4600/80

## RAILWAY PROJECT STALLED AS U.S. FIRM LEAVES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 19 Oct 83 pp 1, 8

[Article by Mahmood Zaman]

[Text]

LAHORE, Oct. 18: The prestigious Tele-Communication related signalling process of the Pakistan Railways is doomed for the present at least, as the American Contracting firm, Messrs Kentron, has suddenly wound up its operation. All but one of member of the firm have allegedly disappeared, leaving their personal effects behind, crossing the Wagah Border on 10th and 11th of October.

Over 50 consultants have left for India amidst rumours that the firm has collapsed financially. It is also being alleged that the firm is under heavy debts and crores of rupees were outstanding against them for sub-contracting, transport, paints stationery, other materials and services.

Another firm in trouble is ZIMPEX, who were the sub-contractors to Messrs Kentron. Zimpex was responsible for the supply of manpower to the extent that all its office staff was at the disposal of its foreign contractors. Meanwhile the Railways have confirmed the stoppage of work on over Rs. 8 billion project without giving any notice.

The Railways Administration a Press release said is taking suitable steps to safeguard the interests of the Pakistan Railways against this alleged breach of contract.

According to available information members of the firm were provided with visas for India by a Government Agency which also transported them to Wagah border in its van.

It is also learnt that while leaving Lahore in a hurry, members of the firm had left behind their valuables worth millions of rupees. Some of the foreign consultants came to know about their departure at the breakfast table on Oct. 10 leaving it unfinished. Likewise, some of them left the

office situated on Lawrence Road on the pretext of going for lunch, but they never returned. The alleged involvement of some Pakistani Engineers and personnel is not ruled out.

The Pakistan Railways awarded the contract of installing the station-to-station - ultra high frequency system with micro-wave along with switching network and Very High Frequency system from Karachi to Rawalpindi on the main line and important branch lines to Messrs Kentron Inc. (U.S.), a firm comprising consultants from America, Canada and Australia as to complete the system at a total cost of Rs. 801423 million and with a foreign exchange component of Rs. 427634 million. This project also involved supply and installation of equipment of US dollars 37186114 and Rs. 162753362.

Under the project, 266 Railway stations were to be connected with the help of 36 channels of Ultra High Frequency system replacing the present open-wire system with radio links. The system was to be installed for communications between Sectional Controller and Locomotive Drivers, fitting radios in 515 locomotives. For this, 17 electronic telephone exchanges were to be erected. As far as the execution of the project, Pakistan Railways is stated to have completed civil work assigned to them while Messrs Kentron had completed 95 per cent of the work.

253 out of 266 towers were also erected and equipment for 240 sites were also received. The project was to be completed by December 1982, but was extended to July 1983, at the request of the Messrs. Kentron.

Meanwhile the firm apprised the Railway authorities of damage to 5 telephone exchanges due to the use of defective dessicants.

At present, testing of the system between Rawalpindi and Lahore was being carried out but reportedly, there were defects on many sections.

## REPORT SAYS FOREIGN ASSISTANCE UNAFFECTED BY POLITICAL DISTURBANCES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 19 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by Sikander Hayat]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Oct. 18: Some important economic indicators show an upward trend despite political disturbances in the last two months, underlining the resilience of the national economy built over some years.

The figures released by the Research Department of the National Bank of Pakistan in financial, industrial and agricultural sectors show better performance percentages with minor exceptions here and there. Meanwhile, there was no let-up in the flow of foreign assistance.

The deposits during August 1983 at Rs. 107,627 million were 24.5 per cent higher as compared with the deposits in the scheduled banks in the corresponding period last year. As compared with three months ago the deposits were higher by 5 per cent.

The advances made by the scheduled banks were 22 per cent higher than in the corresponding period last year and 3.7 per cent higher than three months back. Meanwhile, notes in circulation registered 4 per cent decline, but compared with the corresponding period last year, the notes in circulation were 19.5 per cent more

when it stood at Rs. 47,395 million in the second week of last August.

Pakistan's approved foreign exchange and balances held abroad stood at Rs. 23,956 million on August 11, 1983 which were higher by 13.3 per cent compared with Rs. 21,142 million a month earlier. As compared with figures three months ago this was 14.6 per cent higher, and 83.4 per cent higher than compared with corresponding period a year before.

On agricultural front the growth rate is also impressive. While wheat production is estimated to have exceeded its target of 12.2 million tonnes set for 1982-83 to 12.34 million tonnes, the rice crop is also reportedly good and its target which is 6 per cent higher over last season's output of 3.37 is expected to be met.

According to the NBP forecast, the condition of the cotton crop in Sind and Punjab is satisfactory, although the rains and humidity has increased the jasad population. The cotton target is fixed at 5.2 million bales against production of 4.8 million bales in the previous year, but area under cultivation remains as last year's of 2.26 million hectares.

Since the sugarcane crop is currently reported to be free of any pest attack or disease its target

at 35 million tonnes for 1983-84 is hoped to be met. "The supply position of inputs is adequate all over the country".

The production trends of 35 major industrial items show that 29 registered an increase ranging upto 33 per cent during the last quarter of 1982-83 over the corresponding period of the previous year. Some important increases are: Sheet glass 33.3%, woollen and worsted cloth 22%, nitrogenous fertilizer 18.7%, cement 12.8%, and phosphate fertilizer 5.8%. But the vegetable registered decline of 7%, sugar 18%, varnishes 27% and electric bulbs 41%.

The Karachi Stock Exchange depicted an upturn and general index of share prices increased by 3.7 per cent from July 21, 1983 to August 21, 1983. The aggregate market capitalisation of all ordinary shares increased by Rs. 272 million during this period.

The loans and credits announced during this period are: Islamic Development Bank loan of 20 million dollars for import of crude oil; 18.5 million dollars United States grants and assistance for forestry, irrigation and malaria control; UNDP's 3.5 million for export promotion and Rs. 600 million by the World Bank for construction of food storages.



PEOPLE OF ALL PROVINCES SAID INVOLVED IN MRD STRUGGLE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by Asaf Shaikh]

[Text]

LAHORE, Oct. 16: Malik Mohammad Qasim, Secretary General of the defunct Pakistan Muslim League (Khairuddin group), has said the President has for the first time accepted that an agreement had been reached between the PNA leadership and the PPP regime when the parleys between the two concluded.

In a meeting with 'The Muslim' here on Saturday he said now if everything were done according to that formula, because total national leadership had agreed on it, then one of the issues agreed was holding fresh elections under the 1973 Constitution and the electoral laws in force on July 4, 1977.

He said today the demand of the whole nation was that elections be held under the 1973 Constitution. He said a national crisis had arisen. People were coming into the streets clashes were taking place between people and the security forces. In fact, he said, people of all the provinces were actively involved in this, negating the propaganda that only a few individuals were behind the movement.

He said the solution of this

situation lay in immediately declaring elections to the national and provincial assemblies within three months, as promised on July 5, 1977. Malik Qasim said, 'If this announcement is made, I can say without any fear that normalcy shall immediately prevail in the country. If any delay is caused, then the situation will go out of our hands'.

He said it was being propagated in the Press that an announcement was going to be made giving the updated election schedule. He said this was not going to solve the problem as the issue was not holding of immediate elections, but under what system or under what method.

He said, nobody would allow any curbs, outside the old electoral laws, debarring any political party or any individual to participate in the elections because this would amount to pre-rigging the election. This, he said, would worsen the situation, and no one would accept those elections.

He said the solution to the current "dangerous situation" lay in the complete withdrawal of martial law and elections held under the accepted system and method.

CSO: 4600/65

# SIND LEADERS CRITICIZE ALLEGED INDIAN DESIGNS

Karachi DAWN in English 21 Oct 83 p 9

[Text]

HYDERABAD, Oct 20: Leaders and representatives of various social, economic and public organisations of Sind have expressed their grave concern on the increasing interference by the Indian leaders in the internal affairs of Pakistan.

They urged the Pakistan Government to take immediate note of such flagrant violation of the internationally recognised principles of non-interference in others' affairs.

The President of the Hyderabad Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Mehboob Khan Ghorri, in a statement said that the holding of Sindhi Sammelan (conference) at New Delhi and its inauguration by the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, speaks volumes about the Indian designs. The Indian leaders, he said, have never reconciled to the very creation of Pakistan and have missed no opportunity to harm the territorial integrity of the country.

Mr Ghorri made it clear to the Indian leaders that the people of Sind were committed to the cause of Islam and Pakistan ideology and would deem no sacrifice too great to defend the territorial integrity and ideological frontiers of Pakistan.

The Mayor of the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation, Syed Wasi Mazhar Nadvi said that the holding of Sindhi conference at New Delhi and outbursts by the Indian leaders against Pakistan have exposed the unholy designs of the Indira Government.

He said that the direct involvement of the Indian Prime Minister

in the internal affairs of Pakistan has caused great alarm among the people of Pakistan who would not permit any country to meddle in her internal affairs.

The President, Sind Chamber of Agriculture, Haji Shaikh Fariduddin Siddiqui, had deplored the Indian deliberate attempts to interfere into the domestic affairs of Pakistan and warned that such blatant and gross meddling would not be tolerated by the people of Sind in particular and the people of Pakistan in general.

He said that the Indian leaders should concentrate on their internal deteriorating situation where innocent Sikhs and Assamese have been killed and their legitimate rights suppressed and usurped.

Nawab Mohammad Yamin Khan, a member of the Majlis-i-Shoora, in a statement has condemned the Indian attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of Pakistan. He said the holding of Sindhi conference by a member of the ruling party and a Member of Parliament had dispelled doubts about the unholy intentions of the Indian Government. He urged the Pakistan Government to take immediate steps to counter the hostile and aggressive designs of the neighbour who posed serious threat to the very existence of Pakistan. He, however, assured the government that the people of Sind along with their brethren in other provinces would foil all such conspiracies against Pakistan. They would not hesitate to give any sacrifice for the defence of the motherland, he added.

## REPORT ON QAZI COURTS SUBMITTED TO ZIA

Karachi DAWN in English 23 Oct 83 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Oct. 22: The special committee appointed by the President to examine the Qazi Courts Ordinance and to make suggestions to infuse spirit of Islamic justice in it, on Saturday submitted its report to President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq at his chamber in the Majlis-i-Shoora Secretariat.

The Committee consisted of Mr. Justice Aftab Hussain, Chief Justice of Federal Shariat Court; Mr. Justice Pir Karamshah, and Mr. Justice Taqi Usmani, Judges, Appellate Shariat Bench of the Supreme Court; and Mr. Justice Tanzilur Rehman, Chairman, Council of the Islamic Ideology.

Explaining the salient features of the report, the Chief Justice of the Federal Shariat Court pointed out that the committee was unanimously of the view that the Qazi Courts Ordinance could be promulgated immediately to give effect to all those laws which had been found by the Shariat Court or the Council of Islamic Ideology not repugnant in any manner to the injunctions of Islam.

He added that if any matters was brought before the Qazi court relating to any provision of law which was found repugnant to the injunc-

tions of Islam by either of the two institutions, the proceedings in the suit would be stayed. This will enable the Government to amend the said law and bring it in conformity with the injunctions of Islam by March 23, 1984, he said.

If the amendment is made earlier than March 23, 1984, the Qazi court will decide the case in accordance with the amended law, he added.

The Chief Justice further said if any party pointed out to the Qazi the repugnance of the provision of the existing law, which had not been examined so far by the Federal Shariat Court or Council of Islamic Ideology, with the injunctions of Islam, he could stay the proceedings.

If the Qazi finds some substance in it, he can direct the party to approach the Federal Shariat Court for its determination, the Chief Justice said.

As for the appointment of the Qazis, the report suggests that candidates be selected after appropriate written test and interview. The selected candidates would be required to undergo training at the Islamic University in Islamabad.

The President appreciated the work of the committee.

CSO: 4600/66

ARREST OF STUDENT LEADERS CONDEMNED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Oct 83 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Oct. 16: Another emergency session of Punjab University Students Alliance was held here today to express concern over arrests of leftwing student leaders.

Mian Mohsin Rasheed, senior Vice Chairman of Students Alliance, presided over the meeting. Addressing the meeting, he said, students were perturbed by this cowardly act of administration. He said the arrest were aimed at harassing students and diverting them from the path of struggle for achievement of basic rights. But, he warned such acts will not succeed as student community was determined to continue the struggle till victory.

He alleged that administration and Jamiat had launched a conspiracy campaign against students who supported alliance. About 150 girls and boys were issued false disciplinary notices in this context.

He announced students will not

rest until release of Ilyas Naveed, Secretary General Punjab University Students Union, and Sardar Azad, President Peoples Student Federation.

Female wing of student alliance also called its general body meeting today. They announced to stage demonstrations after reopening of university in case the student leaders were not freed. Female wing also took some decisions at the session which include contacting all pro-democracy student unions of girls colleges and mobilising them for demonstrations to get the student leaders released.

They also demanded expulsion of non student, 'professional politician' girls from girls hostels who were occupying places illegally. They also condemned university administration for not considering certain deserving candidates for admissions on reserve seats.

CSO: 4600/65

BRIEFS

ARMS LICENSES SUSPENDED--HYDERABAD, Oct 16--The District Magistrate, Khairpur, has cancelled the arms licences of eight more zamindars, including Pir Abdul Qadir Shah Jillani, ex-MNA, and his son Ali Taqi Shah, ex-MPA. The arm's licences of Hamid Ali Kandhro, Fakir Sikandar Ali Balouch, Chairman Union Council Bozdar, Rais Imdad Hussain Dasti, Chairman Town Committee Thari Mirwah, and Pir Sayed Zahoor Ahmed Shah were also cancelled. The D.C. in a notice has directed them to deposit their arms at their respective police stations. All these eight persons belong to the defunct PPP, and some of them are confined in jail. The Magistrate also cancelled the arms licences of 35 other persons of Hyderabad District. They were also reported to be active workers of the defunct PPP. [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Oct 83 p 8]

INTERIM NATIONAL GOVERNMENT SUGGESTED--KARACHI, Oct. 16--President, defunct Progressive Peoples Party, Sind, Maulana Irshadul Haq Thanvi has suggested formation of an interim national government at the centre and provinces comprising representatives of political parties. In a statement issued here today he said this would also help in holding peaceful elections during 1984. He welcomed a proposal for setting up a political government put forward by the defunct PML chief Pir Pagaro. Maulana Thanvi said he would submit his proposal to President Ziaul Haq when he meets him (President) on Oct. 21 along with his party chief, Maulana Kausar Niaza for talks. He expressed concern over recent statements of Mrs. Indira Gandhi threatening Pakistan and involving Pakistan in recent disturbances in the Indian state of Punjab. Maulana Thanvi said the Indian Government might start aggression against Pakistan in order to divert attention of its people over bloodshed and rebellion in Indian Punjab. [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Oct 83 p 8]

STUDENT BODY ISSUES STATEMENT--PESHAWAR, Oct. 16--The provincial executive of the defunct Peoples Student Federation has suggested that before reopening the educational institutions, the authorities should try to settle the outstanding issues, taking the student organisations into confidence. That, it estimated, would help maintain a peaceful atmosphere. The acting President of the federation said that the executive, which met here recently, had demanded an open trial of the accused involved in the April 26 incident in Khyber Medical College, withdrawal of the ban on student unions and organisations, and lifting of the age restriction for admissions. It also called for the release of arrested students. Unless all these legitimate demands were met, it observed, the reopening of the institution would be meaningless. [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Oct 83 p 8]

EDITOR OF HAIDER ARRESTED--RAWALPINDI, Oct 18--Rafi Butt, the Editor of Urdu daily Haider, who is also a leader of defunct Tehrik-i-Istaqlal, was arrested last night by the New Town police from his residence in Satellite Town. [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 19 Oct 83 p 1]

PLANT FOR DAKHNI WELL--ISALAMBAD, Oct 20--A processing plant "costing over Rs. 50 million will be purchased for Dakhni oilfield to resume the operation of newly-discovered oil well. The operation was temporarily suspended in August last when contents of sulphur were also discovered alongwith oil and gas. The sulphur will be separated from gas by the processing plant for which a detailed report has recently been submitted to the Planning Division. The OGDC sources told Dawn, the Karachi Shipyard and Engineering Works has also been consulted to get some of the parts of the plant which, they said, will be imported. The processing plant which involves fairly large amount is likely to be installed at Dakhni oil well within six to eight months. [Karachi DAWN in English 21 Oct 83 p 6]

POLITICAL STRUCTURE SAID REJECTED--MUZAFFARGARH, Oct 20--Maulvi Irfan Ahmad Ansari, President, High Court Bar Association, Multan, and member of the delegation of the defunct PML (Pagara group), which held talks with President Zia-ul-Haq, said on Wednesday that the defunct PML (Pagara group) had rejected President Zia's political structure announced on Aug 12. Talking to PPI at Multan, Maulvi Irfan Ahmad Ansari said the PML demanded holding of the general election before October 1984 on party basis under the 1973 Constitution, dissolution of Majlis-i-Shoora, release of all political workers and leaders, restoration of the 1973 Constitution without making any amendment, and revival of political parties. Maulvi Ansari challenged the views of those who opposed the holding of general election on party basis. [Karachi DAWN in English 21 Oct 83 p 14]

TI LEADER IN CLINIC--Mr Musheer Ahmad Peshimam, Secretary-General of the defunct Tehrik-i-Istiqal, has been admitted for a check-up at a hospital in Cleaveland, Ohio (USA), according to information reaching here. In a telephonic talk with advocate Munawwar Iqbal Kanjan in Karachi, Mr Peshimam said that by initiating the dialogue with certain parties of "their choice and liking," the Government wanted to "buy time." He added the talks were "meaningless" in the given conditions today and "after so much repression, particularly in Sind." Mr Peshimam paid tributes to those killed in Sind. [Karachi DAWN in English 21 Oct 83 p 16]

ADP ALLOCATION FOR NWFP--PESHAWAR, Oct 20--The NWFP will receive Rs 8.19 billion out of a total outlay of Rs 58 billion earmarked for the Annual Development Programmes of the four provinces under the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Revealing this before members of the Federal Council from NWFP at a special get-together at Governor's House here on Thursday, the provincial Additional Chief Secretary, Imtiaz Ahmed Sahabzada, said the proposed allocations were from an overall outlay of Rs 495 billion of the Sixth Plan. [Karachi DAWN in English 21 Oct 83 p 18]

SINDHI SAMMELAN: OFFICIAL SILENCE REGRETTED--Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, President of the defunct JUP, has regretted that the Government had not lodged

a strong protest with the Indian Government over the speeches made at the Sindhi Sammelan held in New Delhi recently at which Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi was the chief guest and also made a speech. In fact the conference was sponsored and patronised by the Indian Government," the JUP President said while talking to PPI in Karachi on Friday. [Karachi DAWN in English 23 Oct 83 p 12]

WALI CALLS FOR ELECTIONS--PESHAWAR, Oct 22--Khan Abdul Wali Khan, leader of the defunct National Democratic Party, has said that Pakistan was achieved after great sacrifices, and "for its security and safety it is imperative to hold elections in the country immediately." In a pre-recorded speech played on a taperecorder at Ghazi Gul Baba Mosque, Charsadda, after Juma prayers, Mr Wali said that the MRD was a four-point movement devoted to struggle for democratic process through popular vote in the country. [Karachi DAWN in English 23 Oct 83 p 12]

JUP MEETING POSTPONED--The joint meeting of the central executive and general council of defunct Jamiatul Ulema-i-Pakistan, which was to be held in Lahore on Oct 26, has been postponed and will now be held on Nov 9. This was announced by party chief Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani in Karachi on Saturday. [Karachi DAWN in English 23 Oct 83 p 12]

CSO: 4600/66

END